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49 E. 2.













TIMOUR.

*From an Original in the Bodleian Library.*

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**INSTITUTE S**  
**POLITICAL AND MILITARY,**  
**WRITTEN ORIGINALLY**  
**IN THE MOGUL LANGUAGE,**  
**BY THE GREAT**  
**TIMOUR, IMPROPERLY CALLED TAMERLANE;**

First translated into PERSIAN by ABU TAULIB ALHUSSEINI;  
and thence into ENGLISH, with Marginal Notes,

**BY WILLIAM DAVY, Esq.**  
PERSIAN SECRETARY TO THE COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF  
THE BENGAL FORCES

From the Year MDCC LXX to MDCC LXXIII.

The Original PERSIAN transcribed from a MS. in the Possession of  
Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER, PHYSICIAN EXTRAORD. to the QUEEN,  
F.R. & A.S. and of the ROYAL ACADEMY of SCIENCES at  
PARIS; and the WHOLE WORK published with a Preface, Indexes,  
Geographical Notes, &c.

**BY JOSEPH WHITE, B.D.**

FELLOW of WADHAM COLLEGE, LAUDIAN PROFESSOR of ARABIC, and EDITOR  
and TRANSLATOR of the SYRIAC PHILOXENIAN VERSION of the GOSPELS.

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**O X F O R D:**  
**AT THE CLARENDON-PRESS. MDCC LXXXI.**



TO  
WILLIAM DEVAYNES, Esq.  
CHAIRMAN,  
AND THE OTHER DIRECTORS  
OF THE  
HONORABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY  
IN THE YEAR 1780;

THIS WORK,  
WHICH THEIR MUNIFICENCE  
HAS CAUSED TO BE PUBLISHED,  
FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS  
IN THE LANGUAGE OF THEIR SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST,  
IS WITH MUCH RESPECT AND GRATITUDE INSCRIBED

BY

W. DAVY AND J. WHITE.







## P R E F A C E.

**T**HE illustrious Name of **T I M O U R** was first made known to Europe by tradition : and his heroic actions are still celebrated by many who have never seen the history written by Ali Yezdi, nor perused the accounts of D'Herbelot and Voltaire. I am therefore happily unencumbered with the embarrassments of an author who labours to combat general prejudices, or to introduce a new character to the world.

**T**HE life of this great conqueror was written, in obedience to the command of his grandson, by Ali Yezdi ; a native of Persia. That work, which has been translated into French by Petis de la Croix, and from his translation into English, is valuable not so much for the flowery phrases with which it abounds, as for the authentic materials from which it was collected : and those materials were the journals regularly kept by the Emperor's secretaries, in which were recorded every event and transaction of his reign.

IN the thirty sixth year after the death of TIMOUR, his life was written in Arabic by Ahmed Ibn Arabshah, a Syrian. That author possessed, like the former, a lively and descriptive pen: but what he gains in elegance, he loses in truth and candour; for in every page of his work may be discerned those national prejudices which are disgraceful to an historian, and the hatred of a conquered enemy.

OTHER histories of TIMOUR's life and actions have been written, and some of them are now preserved in European cabinets. One of them which has obscured the rest, and which alone deserves to be the object of our particular notice, was written under the inspection of the conqueror, if not by his own hand. The superior value of this history is at once perceived: for it was drawn not only from those authentic sources to which Ali Yezdi found access, but also from an intimate and personal knowledge of those transactions whose motives and objects perhaps were known only to himself. It has not yet found its way into Europe: but I have been informed by Mr. DAVY, who has read it in the East, that it is a minute and faithful narrative of an interesting and eventful period. I therefore hope my friend, who will spare no search or expence to procure it, will bring it with him when he returns from his public station abroad, and translate for the information and entertainment of his country, a larger and more certain account of TIMOUR's conquests than we now possess. To this history, some who have no other wish than to lessen its estimation, have objected, that it must certainly be partial, and that its imperial author must have studiously concealed his vices

vices from the reader's eye, and reflected upon his virtues more light than they will bear. But these harsh opinions can be pronounced or credited by those only who are unacquainted with his writings; and the praise which his enemies have given him; that he was a lover of truth, who hated, detected, and punished falsehood, with sincerity, penetration and constancy. That he might pursue his great objects by the light of truth, he made use of every friend and every foe: and in his Institutes he does not blush to acknowledge his errors and misfortunes, but glories that he has profited by them. Ambition, the infirmity of noble minds, was perhaps his only fault. The desire of conquest is a principle which the liberty of modern times has justly reprobated. But TIMOUR's conquests were in a great measure produced by other causes; by the manners of the age and country in which he lived, and by the treachery of kings, who whilst they envied his greatness, professed themselves his friends. It is needless to speak of his valour; for who has not heard of his successful wars, his perseverance and resolution in distress, and his serene and temperate conduct after victory? That he possessed the humane and liberal virtues cannot be doubted, when we read that he forbore to take revenge when it could not interfere with his interest, and that he extended the rights of subjects and citizens to nations who were willing to be slaves. When he had seen his vast empire rising, like the infant world, out of anarchy under his victorious hands, he dispensed order through every part of the dominion he had created, and governed it with wisdom, justice and benevolence. There is therefore less reason to blame his ambition, than to admire the amiable moderation by which it was restrained.

IF the reader of this preface has not perused any history of TIMOUR's actions, he will think these praises laboured, perhaps will call them extravagant; if he has, he will consider them as the free tribute which honest admiration and a feeling heart pays to the virtues of an exalted character. There is, however, another reason which has induced me to speak so largely in this place of TIMOUR's character, and of the History written by himself: for from that History he selected those Designs and Institutes which I have the honour of presenting in this volume to the public.

THERE is ever a solemnity and a kind of sacred authority in the instructions which a dying parent delivers to his offspring. When the Lord of the East laid down his sceptre, which he had long and well supported, he did not leave to his successor a verbal injunction, a short lesson of morality, which might soon be forgotten amidst the cares and pleasures of a court; but bestowed with his empire a gift more valuable, the art to preserve it. In the leisure of his declining years, he had thrown a retrospective eye over the scenes of a long and various life, and thence he committed to writing for the perpetual instruction of his imperial descendants, those rules of government and those measures of policy which himself had invariably followed: and from his history he collected, without regard to chronological order, the several plans he had formed, and their success. To these he added his Omens, which are omitted in this publication, because, however consistent they might have been, when they were written, with the manners and religion of the East, and whatever political purposes they might

might have tended to promote, the present age wisely disregards such superstitions.

THE MS. of which I now present a translation to the public, is to be found in that inestimable repository of literary treasures, Dr. WILLIAM HUNTER'S Museum. \*

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\* This Museum is universally known as one of the most august monuments of a love of science now existing in the world, and is become much too illustrious an object of curiosity not to merit a more exact description than has yet been given of it to the public. My reader therefore will, I am persuaded, readily forgive me, if I embrace this opportunity of acquainting him in a more detailed manner, with the great extent and variety of those obligations which it's generous possessor has already conferred, and is likely to confer in a still higher degree upon the learned world.

IN saying that the Museum stands unrivalled in the number, usefulness, and neatness of the ANATOMICAL PREPARATIONS, I say no more than what every person is prepared to expect. No man could approach Dr. HUNTER'S Museum without a conviction that no exertion of art, no profusion of expence would be wanting to illustrate and embellish a science which his own studies have carried to a degree of excellence, that has made this city the first school of anatomy in the world.

THE collection of MEDALS acquired at an immense expence, defies the competition of any Royal Cabinet in Europe, that of his most Christian Majesty only excepted. The latter, which before the establishment of Dr. HUNTER'S was without a rival, can hardly claim a decided superiority; in many respects is confessedly it's inferior. The Doctor, who is not more distinguished by his possession than by his knowledge of these treasures, is at present employed, with the learned and ingenious Mr. COOMBE, in publishing a part of them in three divisions; one containing the Greek cities, another the Persian, Phenician, Samaritan, Palmyrene, Punic &c. and the third the Greek Kings.

OF this MS. I published in 1780 a translated specimen. The attention with which that experiment of the public favour and opinion was received, gave birth to the present work,

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The work will be executed not only with elegance and splendor, but with a degree of accuracy and fidelity totally unusual in publications of this sort.

THE LIBRARY comprehends most of the early printed books of the xv. century, the rare editions of the classics, the expensive works of natural history, of general history, and antiquities; and particularly all the curious and valuable books in medicine. And in addition to this collection of printed books, there is a considerable collection of MSS. in all the languages that are cultivated by men of erudition.

THE collection of NATURAL HISTORY is enriched with specimens of the most beautiful productions in every class. The class of FOSSILS, and likewise that of CORALS, and of BIRDS possess many specimens that are peculiar to this cabinet. The class of SHELLS is ample and elegant; the same character is applicable to that of INSECTS. And there is a numerous catalogue of miscellaneous curiosities not reducible to any particular arrangement.

THIS Museum, thus splendidly and scientifically established, has been the laborious and expensive acquisition of a Gentleman, to whose love of science the academies of our own and other countries have borne the most honourable testimonies.

THE public must be anxious to know the final destination of such treasures; it is largely interested in their fate, and would have abundant reason to lament their dispersion. But, happily for the world, their proprietor is actuated by much higher motives than those of mere personal gratification; a selfish, solitary love of letters was not the primary inducement that influenced his mind; and in proportion as his treasures become more important, he feels more strongly the obligation of devoting them to the use of the public. Such an act of munificence, as, I hear, He intends to perform in bequeathing his collection to the public

which I immediately determined to execute. As I proceeded in the translation, I found difficulties in the sequel, which had not occurred in the specimen: and I observed in the course of the work so many terms of the Military Art, which my studies had never led me to examine, and so many idioms of the Tartar Language which no lexicon in Europe has explained, that I chose to decline the first honours of the present publication, and desired to devolve the whole task of translation on Mr. DAVY. His knowledge of the art and language with which I am unacquainted, rendered him peculiarly qualified to undertake it; and his ready compliance with my request has added an obligation of a public nature to many instances of private friendship. The translation was fortunately completed, when Mr. DAVY was called to India by an honourable appointment under LORD MADARTNEY. The subordinate duties of an Editor, therefore, reverted to me: and I hope that by my accuracy in superintending the impression of the original, and my diligence in compiling the Indexes, I shall have given satisfaction to my friendly associate as well as to the public. That I may not however lose any assistance which a colleague so ingenious and intelligent can contribute, I have subjoined to this preface a Letter on the Authenticity of the Institutes, with

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public, is all that is wanting to perpetuate the gratitude of the learned world, and to place the name of HUNTER on a footing of equality, in the estimation of future ages, with the SLOANES, the MAFFEIS, and other illustrious benefactors of mankind.

It was to the Doctor's library that this publication was indebted for the original MS; and it was still further assisted by a donation of three plates, and a very liberal encouragement of subscription.



which I was favoured in answer to my earnest request, and which has received the praise and assent of all who have read it.

THIS is all, concerning the author and the edition, that I think necessary to be observed by the general readers of TIMOUR'S Institutes; a work, which if I am not misled by the prepossessions of an editor, will be esteemed curious and valuable by men of various professions. The scholar is ever delighted with a larger knowledge of illustrious characters, with their remains rescued from long oblivion, and all that tends to throw additional light on the history of mankind. He who studies and professes the military art, will survey with pleasure modes of marshalling and encamping armies, and the stratagems of a great conqueror, judiciously and successfully formed, though different from his own. The politician must be interested in the perusal of measures, by which distant nations were united under the same government, and which baffled all the dangerous intrigues of powerful courts and designing men.

BUT the most immediate and evident advantage that can be derived from the present publication, remains yet to be told. The superiority which a knowledge of the Persian language confers on its possessors in our East India settlements is allowed by all whose civil or military stations have obliged them to reside in those countries. To those readers who have not received this personal conviction, I recommend an attentive consideration of Mr. DAVY's letter upon the subject, which I have caused to be printed for their perusal at the end of

of this volume, and by which every doubt that remains will be removed. To facilitate the attainment of this beautiful language, a Dictionary, and a Grammar, have been published by two Gentlemen, whom I have the honour to call my friends. The first of these performances is distinguished by immense labour and accuracy, the other by that propriety of arrangement which is peculiar to an elegant mind. But a language is neither learnt nor studied in a grammar or a dictionary. It can only be acquired by the help of books or oral converse: and it has often been lamented by gentlemen intending to enter into the company's service abroad, and therefore desirous of learning the Persian language, that in England where the former does not exist, the latter should be unattainable.

THAT this deficiency may no longer be the occasion of difficulties and a reason of complaint, the Institutes of TIMOUR are now published in a faithful English version, and the Persian from which it is translated. Nothing can be more happily calculated for the purpose of teaching a language than a work like the present, abounding with that simple grandeur which is peculiar to Eastern compositions, and which has been so often admired in the scriptures of the Hebrew testament.

GRATITUDE will not suffer me to conclude these prefatory remarks, without expressing acknowledgements to C. W. BOURGHTON ROUSE, Esq; for favours which he has conferred with a friendly politeness on the work and its editor; for the use of a valuable Persian MS. which containing a considerable portion of the original work, has enabled me to collate and correct  
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many faulty passages; and for the communication of several curious Persian papers, by the help of which my pupils in that language have derived advantages from my lectures which could not be supplied by the single assistance of the printed volume.

I ALSO desire the same ingenious Gentleman to accept my public thanks for the translation of the Brahmin's Prayer, \* with which he has favoured me, and which, in compliance

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\* Notwithstanding Mr. DOWE's assertion to the contrary, there is reason to believe that various translations of Sanscrit books have been composed in the Persian language; and that the theology and philosophy of the Hindoos have been a subject of enquiry amongst men of rank in Indostan, when letters were much cultivated. In a curious and valuable work composed about two centuries ago by the command of the Emperor Akbar, we find a large account of the astronomy, philosophy, religious principles and customs of this very singular nation. This is not the only Persian work that illustrates the history of a people so little known. A translation has been made into the same language of the famous Sanscrit poem, called Mahabarit (or the great war) said to contain a hundred and twenty thousand stanzas. We find likewise that Dara Shekoo, one of the sons of the Emperor Shah Jehan, paid such attention, and gave such encouragement to the professors of the Hindoo Religion, that he was treated as an infidel by his younger brother Aurengzebe, who made this partiality a plea for exciting all the Mahomedans against him, and preventing his succession to the empire of his father. This learned prince was the author of many works, the most valuable of which, perhaps, is his summary of the Four Bedes (or sacred books) of the Hindoos, containing very curious and abstract discussions of their metaphysics and religious principles, *upon the nature and existence of the world — of the supreme Being — of the human mind and its faculties — of the worship due to the supreme Being; as sole Creator of the world &c. &c.*

Some translated fragments of this work, as well as the original Persian, having been shewn me by Mr. ROUSE, I was highly struck with the sublimity and beauty of many of the passages; and judging that a specimen would be extremely acceptable to the readers of this volume, I requested leave to insert at the end of it *One of the Prayers directed by the Brahmins to be offered up to the Supreme Being.*

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with my wishes he has given me permission to publish. I have therefore inserted it, annexed to the specimen of *Eusfoof* and *Zoolleikha*, in the present publication: not merely for the sake of that beauty of thought and expression, of which there is much in both to be admired; but because, like the work of TIMOUR, it serves to prove that a knowledge of the Persian displays to the European scholar not only whatever is valuable in its native compositions, but also the yet undiscovered treasures of the Shanscrit, the Mogul, and other remote languages of the East.

WADH. COLL.  
Sept. 15. 1782.

J. W.

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The knowledge of the particulars contained in this note I owe to my conversations on the subject with Mr. ROUSE, who is not less acquainted with the literature of India, than his conduct in the House of Commons has proved Him to be with the political affairs of that country.



## Mr. DAVY's Letter on the Authenticity of the Institutes.

Gloucester, Oct. 24. 1779.

“ MY GOOD FRIEND,

**I** HAVE received your favour of the 20th instant, and with most heartily that my ability to comply with your request was equal to my inclination.

“ You apply to me for *external* evidence to establish the Authenticity of TIMOUR's Institutes : it is by no means an easy task which you impose on me ; such reasons, however, as have led me to believe them genuine, I shall freely communicate. How far they may tend to remove the doubts of unbelieving Critics, I cannot pretend to say ; possibly, in the opinions of such Gentlemen, they may only serve to establish my own credulity : be that as it may, I shall set out with declaring to you, that I cannot produce any *historical* proofs of the Authenticity of these Institutes.

“ THE only Histories of TIMOUR, which I have read (that written by himself excepted,) are those of *Sburruf u'deen Alli Yezzudi* and *Mirkbond* : the latter is in the *Rouzut ul Suffau*. True it is that neither of these authors, to the best of my remembrance, take any notice of the Institutes, or of the History (or Commentaries) of TIMOUR, said to be written by himself. *Alli Yezzudi* says, that TIMOUR was always attended by several learned and able men, whose sole employment was to keep a sort of historical Journals of all Transactions as they occurred, both military and civil ; that they were directed to  
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adhere minutely to the truth in their relations of the most trifling facts, and that they were still more particularly enjoined to observe the strictest impartiality in their narratives of the conduct and actions of the Emperor himself. These historical Journals, if they may be so called, were, from time to time, read in his presence, in the presence of his Ministers and Officers, and of the learned: they were compared with, and corrected by, each other, by the Emperor himself, and by such of his people as had a personal knowledge of the Transactions therein related. It must be allowed, that this was no bad way of collecting authentic materials for the history of a mighty Emperor, governing a mighty Empire; if he took care to enforce his commands by proving himself superior to flattery, and by an encouragement of that truth and impartiality, which he so strictly enjoined. From these materials, some of which were in prose, some in verse, some in the Turki (or Mogul) language, some in the Persian, *Alli Yezzudi*, afterwards compiled the History of the Reign and Conquests of Timour, as he himself declares: and with the assistance of these very materials, it is concluded that TIMOUR wrote that voluminous and valuable History of his own Life, to which he added his Institutes. How it came to pass that that History and those Institutes were not taken notice of either by *Alli Yezzudi*, or *Mirkbond*, it is impossible, at this distance of time, to tell; but though the cause cannot with certainty be pointed out, there is room for many plausible conjectures. The historical Journals before mentioned were numerous, and they were public also; the great and the learned had free access to them; many copies of them were taken, and, with the originals, handed down to posterity: the Life of TIMOUR, and his Institutes, on the contrary, was a private work, composed by himself, with the assistance which those materials afforded him. This work the Conqueror was led to engage in from motives to us unknown: amusement or ambition, or both, might urge him to the arduous undertaking. Whether it was written with his own  
hand,



hand, or by a favourite and trusty amanuensis, is uncertain ; but which ever was the case, it is most probable, that one copy only existed during his life-time, and possibly for many years afterwards : what became of that copy, during the confusions that followed his death, is equally uncertain and open to conjecture. But after all, it is no unreasonable supposition, that such a work in manuscript might have existed, though *Alli Yezxudi* and *Mirkbond* knew nothing of the matter. That they were not acquainted with it, is evident : for if they had, and thought it authentic, they would have bestowed upon it all the applause which is due to the intrinsic merit of the work ; if they had known and thought it spurious, they would have refuted its authenticity. But they have done neither ; they are totally silent on the subject : from whence we may conclude, that they were strangers to the work. But it by no means follows, that such a work could not exist, because they, or even cotemporary authors, knew nothing about it.

“ THE History of TIMOUR, written by himself, carries with it the strongest proofs that he wrote for posterity only ; and that he could not, in prudence, or in policy, make his work public during his life : for it contains not only the same accurate detail of the Facts and Occurrences of his reign, as are found in other Authors, but it goes much further. He gives you that which he only had the power to give, the secret Springs and Motives which influenced his conduct in the various political and military transactions of his life, the arts by which he governed, as well as the power by which he conquered. He acknowledges his weaknesses, honestly owns his errors, describes the difficulties in which he was occasionally involved by those errors, and the policy by which he surmounted and overcame those difficulties. In a word, it is a complete Index to his head and his heart ; and though, take it all in all, it redounds to the honour of both the one and the other, yet it was a work by no means calculated for the perusal of his enemies,

or even his subjects during his life; since it would have enabled those who chose it, to combat him with his own weapons, or, in other words, to have turned his arts and his policy against himself. Hence it is reasonable to suppose, that the Work in question was entirely unknown during his life; and its subsequent temporary obscurity may, I think, be plausibly accounted for, by the probability of one copy only existing at the time of his death, by the uncertainty into whose hands that copy fell, and by the divisions which followed in his family after the death of *Sbaabroch*.

“ *Abu Taulib ul Housseini*, in the Dedication of his Translation to *Sultaun ul Audil*, says, that in the Library of *Jafir, Haukim of Yemmun*, he met with a manuscript in the Turki, or Mogul language, which, on inspection, proved to be the History of TIMOUR, written by himself; containing an account of his Life and Actions from the seventh to the seventy-fourth year of his age, &c. &c. He then proceeds to give the Translation of the said History, in which are included the Institutes.

“ IT may appear remarkable that the Translator should say so little, or in fact nothing, to prove the authenticity of the valuable work, which he was about to translate. It has an extraordinary appearance, I allow; but, I think, the following inferences only can be drawn from it: either that he thought the work itself contained sufficient proofs of its own authenticity, or that at the period when he translated it, it was so well known, as not to admit of doubt, or dispute. For my part, I think his inattention to this point is a very strong, if not the strongest possible proof, that the History and Institutes of TIMOUR are genuine.

“ A N European Critic may say, that this same *Abu Taulib* might have wrote the work himself in the Persian language, and have imposed it upon the world as a Translation from the  
Royal

Royal Mogul author. This I take to be impossible. Authors in the East neither sold their works to booksellers, nor published by subscription, nor depended for support on the applause, the generosity, or the credulity of the public: they were patronized by Princes, who rewarded their labours in proportion to the value of their works. And therefore, if *Abu Taulib* had been capable of writing such a work, he never would have been guilty of so dangerous and foolish an artifice, which could tend only to diminish both his fame and his profit. The applause and the reward due to the Translator of an excellent work, must, whatever his merit, be inferior to those which are due to the author of such a work; if therefore he had been master of abilities to write the Life and Institutes of TIMOUR, as there written, he would have spoke in the third person instead of the first (no other alteration being necessary,) and have stood forth as the author of the first and best History of the Life of TIMOUR, that ever was wrote; for which he must have obtained both applause and profit tenfold. The same mode of reasoning will hold good to prove that the *Turki* copy could not be wrote by any *Mogul* author, but him to whom it is ascribed, TIMOUR HIMSELF.

“THE noble simplicity of Diction, the plain and unadorned Egotism that runs through the whole of the Institutes and History of TIMOUR, are peculiarities which mark their originality and their antiquity also. The Orientals, for some centuries past, have adopted a very different mode of writing; the best of their historical works are filled with poetical and hyperbolical Flowers and Flourishes, which are so numerous, and occur so frequently, that many a *folio* volume, weeded and pruned of these superfluities, would be reduced to a very moderate *octavo*.

“THE only work bearing the least resemblance to the Life and Institutes of TIMOUR, which has fallen under my observation, is the History (or Commentaries) of *Sultaun Babour*, written

written by himself. Babour was descended from TIMOUR in the fifth degree; he was the son of Omer, the son of Abu Saeed, the son of Mahummud, the son of Meraun Shaah, the son of TIMOUR. About eighty years elapsed between the death of TIMOUR and the birth of Babour. Babour in the twelfth year of his age, and the 899th year of the *Hejra*, sat upon the throne of his father, in the kingdom of *Furgauneh*. The earlier part of his life very much resembled that of his great predecessor, TIMOUR: and his abilities in the Field and in the Cabinet, his fortitude in distress, his activity and courage when surrounded with difficulties and danger, and the glory and success with which his Enterprizes were finally crowned, make the resemblance between these two Princes still more striking. Like TIMOUR, Babour wrote an accurate History of his own Life and Actions in the *Turki* language; which though by no means equal to the admirable composition of his renowned ancestor, is a work of infinite merit. Yet this history, great as the Royal Author was, remained in obscurity till the middle of the reign of his grandson *Acbur*, when it was translated into the Persian language by one of his Omrahs, *Kbaun a Kbaunaun*. It is more difficult to account for the temporary obscurity of this valuable work, than for that of TIMOUR's; for at the death of Babour it must have fallen into the hands of his son *Humaioon*, and on his death, into those of *Acbur*. Yet till the middle of his reign it remained unknown and untranslated: and if *Acbur* had, in the early part of his life, been driven from his throne, if Divisions had taken place in his family, and his posterity had been scattered abroad, this valuable Manuscript might have fallen into private hands, and have remained unknown for a century longer; possibly, have been totally lost. No Critic, either Oriental or European, pretends to dispute the authenticity of Babour's History; and, as far as I have been able to discover, the Learned of the East consider the *Institutes* and History of TIMOUR as equally genuine.

“ I WAS

“ I WAS acquainted with several great and learned Men in India, both Natives and Persians : on perusing the works of TIMOUR, I was led to make the same enquiry which you have made, Whether they were, or were not authentic ? The answers I received were always in the affirmative, and attended with some tokens and expressions of surprize, that I should, or could, doubt their being genuine. SHAAH AULUM, the present Mogul, has a beautiful copy of the History and Institutes of TIMOUR ; which he holds in such esteem, and of which he is so exceedingly careful, that though he granted me the use of any other book in his possession, this he positively excepted by name, as a work so rare and valuable, that he could not trust it to the care of any person whatever.

“ UPON the whole, if the learned of the East, for several generations, have been induced to give implicit credit to the Institutes and History of TIMOUR, which is certainly the case, I do not see how Europeans can, with any degree of propriety, doubt their authenticity. The Oriental Critics have the very best materials on which to form their opinions ; our small stock of knowledge in the language, and still smaller stock of Asiatic Historians, render us very incompetent judges of the point in question. There are a great number of Oriental Manuscripts in the libraries of the Learned ; but I am convinced, that there are still many, very many, which never have found, and possibly never will find, their way into Europe ; and therefore, though no *historical* evidence can be produced to prove the authenticity of the Works of TIMOUR, yet no one can pretend to say, that such *historical* Proofs do not exist. The learned of the East must be the best judges whether they do, or do not merit their belief and veneration ; and they have thought proper to bestow upon them both the one and the other. It is much to be regretted, that the Life of TIMOUR, written by himself, is not to be found in Europe : if that, and the Institutes

tutes could be translated and published together, such is the accuracy of the narrative, such the importance of the matter, and such the lights that they would mutually reflect on each other, that it would, I conceive, be impossible for any one to read them, without acquiescing in their Authenticity from the *internal* Evidence alone.

Yours, most assuredly,

WILLIAM DAVY."

## Account of the Portrait of TIMOUR.

*The Note and Letter here following are printed from a Book of Eastern Portraits given by Mr. POPE to the University. They are sufficiently explicit in themselves and require no Illustration.*

“ THIS Book (containing one hundred and seventy eight  
“ Portraits of the Indian Rajahs continued to TAMER-  
“ LANE and the great Mogols his successors as far as to Au-  
“ rengzebe) was procured at Surat by Mr. JOHN CLELAND,  
“ and given to the Bodley-Library, as a token of respect by

ALEX. POPE.”

1737.

\*\*\*\*\*

To Mr. EVERARD, Fellow of Braze-Nose College, Oxford.

LONDON, the 8<sup>th</sup>. July, 1760.

“ WITH great pleasure it is, SIR, that I comply with  
your intimation to me of a desire to know some par-  
ticulars of that Collection of the Miniature Portraits of the  
sovereigns of Indostan presented by Mr. POPE to the Bodleian  
library at Oxford, inscribed with his name and mine.

“ WHILE I was in India sometime before the year seven-  
teen hundred and forty, one of the Mogul’s generals was with  
an army incamped before the town of Surat, of which Tegbeg  
Khaun was then governor for the Mogul. On those occasions  
d the



the general never enters the town himself, but deputes certain officers to the governor, under pretext of taking cognizance of his conduct, but in fact to receive a bribe, in form of a present, not to make too strict a scrutiny.

“TEGBEG KHAUN, who was far from being on good terms with the court, being obliged to proportion his present to the need he stood in of absolution for the past, and protection for the future, sent the general some lacks of rupees, not less than to the amount of three or four hundred thousand pounds. But that such a transaction may not appear too barefacedly what it always is, a corrupt bargain, the general usually makes the governor some present, which is to pass for a return. On this occasion then the Mogul general sent Tegbeg Khaun a sabre set with rubies, emeralds and diamonds, worth perhaps at most three or four thousand pounds, together with this Book containing a set of Miniature Portraits of the successive sovereigns of Indostan for several ages back. They are in colours, on vellum-leaves, and are copies from a series of originals in the Mogul's palace.

“THAT they are not fancy-pictures, there is great reason to believe (independent of the presumption in their favour from the circumstance of their being a present on so capital an occasion from one great officer of state to another) it being well known, that such a set of pictures actually exists in the royal palace, it hardly seems improbable that a copy was taken from them. And here it is observable, that the Mogul-moors have nothing of that aversion to images or pictures, which is even a point of religion to the Mahomedans in general. But these Moguls retain so much of their Tartarian origin as to tolerate all religions, and even to incorporate theirs of the *Tbien*, such as the court of China also professes, with the predominant religion of whatever country they conquer; for the greater ease of preserving their conquests by this political conformity.

THE

“THE portrait of Tamerlan (Timur-lang) in this collection, and perhaps the only one extant in Europe on which any dependence for genuineness may be reasonably had, seems to favour the belief of its authenticity, in that you may very clearly remark in it the distinctive Tartar lineaments, a broad flattish face, with small eyes. These in his son and successor, are somewhat less conspicuous, and, as the line of descent proceeds, they melt by degrees wholly into the softness of the Indian features.

“IT may also be observed, that the Moors, or Mahomedan sovereigns of Indostan, are in this collection distinguished from the Gentoos ones, by the fashion of the skirts of their robes, which in the Gentoos, hang on each side, cut at bottom into an angular form, as all the Rajahs wear them to this day for an ensign of royalty.

“HOWEVER, this book, such as it is, was by the governor Tegbeg Khaun made a present of to Mr. Frazer, the same who, at my instance and request, translated from a Persian manuscript the account of Shah Nadir's (the famous Thamas Kooly Khaun's) expedition into India; and who brought home a curious collection of oriental manuscripts, most of which once belonged to the royal library of Ispahan, and had escaped the rage and barbarism of the Aphgoons, or Ophguan invaders, under Emir Veiss and his successors.

“MR. FRAZER having parted with this Set of Portraits to me, I sent it to Mr. POPE, with whom I was then in correspondence; and who wrote me, That judging it too great a curiosity for his private study, he had done it the honour of presenting it to the Bodleian Library.

"I NEED not, I presume, insist on how agreeable such a disposal must be to one so penetrated as I have ever been with sentiments of veneration for an university, which in quality both of a spring-head of learning and of a noble conservatory of literature, is so justly considered as a national ornament and honour. But I now receive from that circumstance a fresh pleasure in its furnishing me an occasion of assuring yourself of the truth with which I most respectfully am,

SIR,

Your most obedient

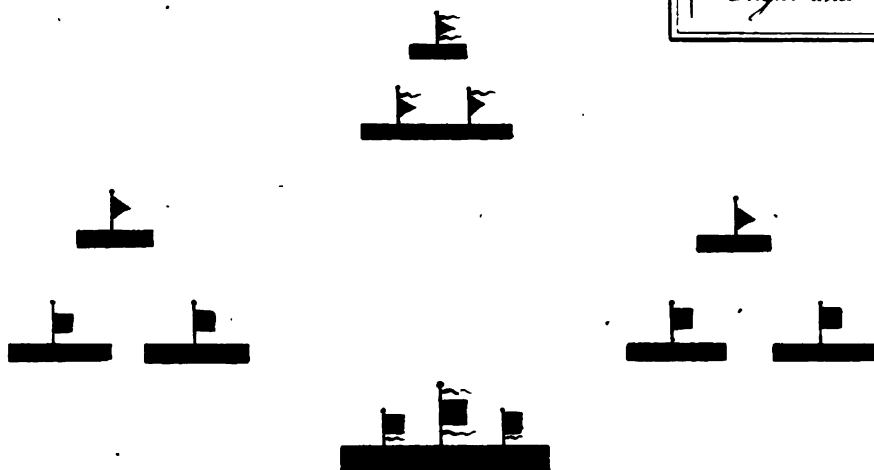
humble Servant,

JOHN CLELAND."



Plate 1

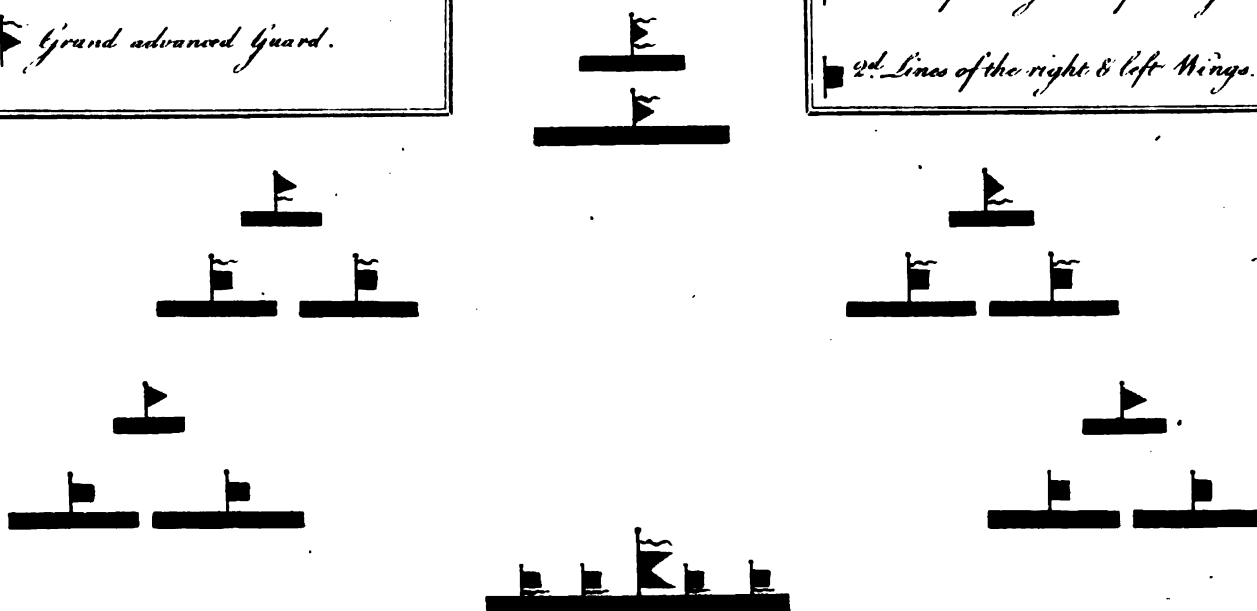
- Main Body headed by the Commander in chief.
- Advanced Guard of the grand advanced Guard.
- Grand advanced Guard.
- Advanced Guards of the right and the left Wings.
- Right and left Wings.



- Main Body headed by one of the Imperious Sons.
- Advanced Guard of the grand advanced Guard.
- Grand advanced Guard.

Plate 2

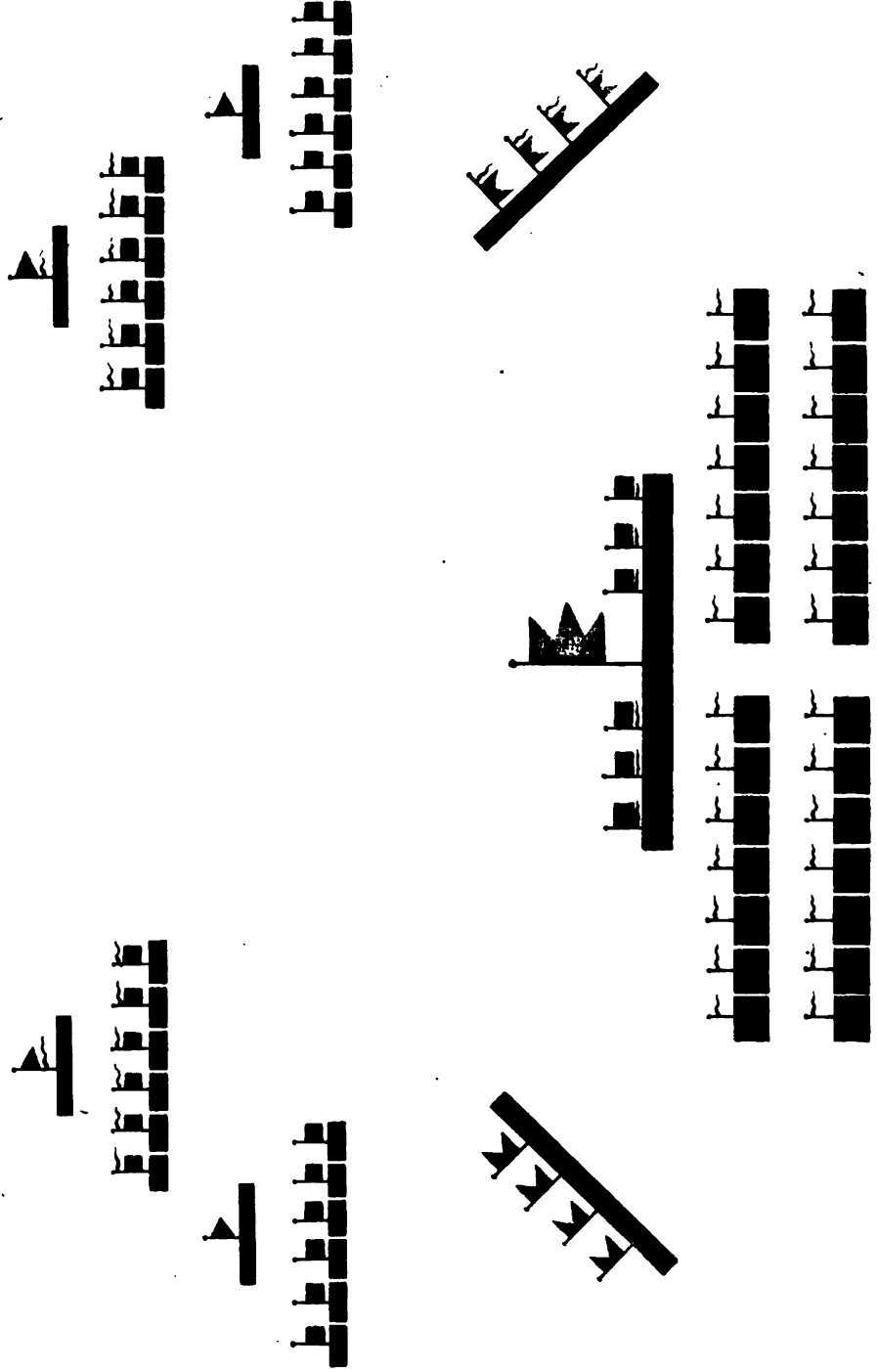
- Advanced Guards of the front Lines of the right & left Wings.
- Front Lines of the right and left Wings.
- Advanced Guards of the second Lines of the right & left Wings.
- 2d Lines of the right & left Wings.





The main Body headed by the Emperor  
 Twenty eight Juyemayut who had  
 not obtained the Sunghau.  
 Grand advanced Guard.  
 Advanced Guard of the grand  
 advanced Guard.  
 Light Troops to skirmish & to  
 observe the motions of the Enemy.

Advanced Guards of the front Lines  
 of the right & left Wings.  
 Front Lines of the right and left  
 Wings.  
 Advanced Guards of the 2d Lines  
 of the right & left Wings.  
 Second Lines of the right & left Wings.  
 Reserve of the right Wing, headed by  
 the Sons & Grandsons of the Emperor.  
 Reserve of the left Wing, headed by  
 the Relations of the Emperor.



تصوڪات تسيهور  
مقالٽ اول  
في تدبيرات وڪنڪاشها

# THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR.

BOOK THE FIRST.  
DESIGNS AND ENTERPRISES.





## مقاله اول

في تدبیرات وکنکاشها

وکنکاش \* امور ملککیری و جهانداري  
 و لشکرشکني و دشمن را بدام آوردن  
 و دوست ساختن مخالفان و در آمدن ویر  
 آمدن بهیان دوستان و دشمنان چنین کردم

\* In order to account for the abruptness of this Exordium, it is necessary to inform the Reader, that this part of the Work in the Original followed the INSTITUTES, and by the Royal author was undoubtedly considered as a part of them, under the Denomination of DESIGNS and ENTERPRISES; which he appears to have given as Models of Conduct to others in similar situations. But as it is presumed that little more than the Name of TIMOUR is known to the generality of Europeans, and as this part of the Work contains an abridged account of his most



BOOK THE FIRST.

DESIGNS AND ENTERPRISES.

• **T**HUS I formed measures and designs for the reduction of kingdoms, and for the obtainment of empire, and for defeating armies, and for circumventing enemies, and for making friends of foes, and for going out, and for coming in, amongst friends and enemies.

most important Schemes and Enterprises, which consequently lead to a knowledge of the genius, abilities, and extraordinary actions of the man; it has been deemed a proper introduction to that part of the Work, which may with propriety be stiled his **INSTITUTES**. Another reason for prefixing this part of the Work to the other, is, that from the simplicity of the Narrative, it will (in the beginning) be better adapted to the use of those who are inclined to study the Persian Language.

که پیر من بهن نوشت که ابو  
 المنصور تیهور در امور سلطنت چهار امر را بدست  
 بگیرد یعنی کنکاش و مشورت و حزم و احتیاط  
 که هر سلطنتی که از کنکاش و مشورت  
 خالی باشد چون شخصی است جاهل که آنچه  
 کند و گوید همه غلط باشد و گفتار و کردارش سر  
 بسر پیشیانی و ندامت بار آورد پس بهتر است که در  
 تهشیت امور سلطنت خود را به مشاورت و تدبیر عمل  
 نهایی تا آخر نادم و پیشیان نکردی  
 و بدان که در امور سلطنت یک حصه  
 صبر و تحمل است و یک حصه تغافل و تجاهل بعد  
 از تعارف و از کار کردن بعزیت و صبر و استقامت  
 و حزم و احتیاط و شجاعت جمیع امور میسر میشود  
 والسلام

و گویا این مکتوب هادی بود که مرا  
 راه نبود و ظاهر ساخت که در امور سلطنت نه

+ Kootub ul Aktaub Sheikh Zine u deen Aboo Bukkur : a devout and learned man descended from the Mahummudan Lawgiver, who foretold to TIMOUR the power and greatness to which he would arrive. It appears that this prince considered him in the light of a ghostly father, consulted him

FOR my PEER† wrote unto me, saying, Book L.  
 “Let ABU’L MUNSOUR TIMOUR, in conducting the  
 “important concerns of government, take by the hand  
 “four assistants ; to wit, Deliberation, and Counsel, and  
 “Vigilance, and Circumspection.

“FOR every government which shall be  
 “void of deliberation and counsel, is like unto a foolish  
 “man, who erreth in all which he sayeth and doeth ;  
 “and whose actions and words bring forth no fruit but  
 “shame and repentance. It is therefore good that in  
 “conducting the affairs of thy government, thou act  
 “with deliberation and with counsel ; that thou mayest  
 “not in the end be ashamed and confounded.

“AND know, that the requisites for con-  
 “ducting the concerns of empire are one portion pa-  
 “tience and forbearance, and one portion pretended neg-  
 “ligence and feigning to know not that which thou  
 “knowest—and that by acting with resolution, and with  
 “uprightness, and with patience, and with vigilance, and  
 “with caution, and with bravery, every undertaking  
 “will become easy and successful. Farewell.”

AND behold this letter was a guide which  
 pointed out to me the way ; and shewed unto me, that

him on all occasions, and paid the most implicit attention to his counsels.  
*Peer* in the Persian language signifies *old* or *aged* ; hence a *Father* : which is  
 the appellation by which TIMOUR distinguishes him throughout this work.

of

حصه مشاورت و تدبیر و کنکاش است و یک حصه  
شبشیر

که گفته اند به تدبیری ملکهها توان  
کنشاد و فوجها توان شکست که بشبشیرهای لشکرها  
میسر نشود

و بتجربه من رسید که یک مرد کار دیده  
شجاع مردانه صاحب عزم و تدبیر و خرم بهتر از هزار  
مرد بی تدبیر و خرم است چه یک مرد کار دیده هزار  
هزار مرد را کار فرماید

و بتجربه من رسید که غالب شدن بر  
مخالفان نه از بسیاری لشکر است و مغلوب شدن  
نه از کمی سپاه بلکه غالب شدن بتایید و تدبیر  
است

چنانچه من با دو صد و چهل و سه کس  
از روی کنکاش و تدبیر بر سر قلعه قرشی که امیر  
موسی و ملک بهادر با دوازده هزار سوار در قلعه  
و حوالی قلعه نشسته بودند آمدم و بتایید تنکری  
تعالی و تدبیر درست قلعه قرشی را مسخر گردانیدم  
و با

of the requisites for conducting the affairs of dominion Book I.  
 nine tenths are Deliberation, and Counsel; and provident  
 Measures; and that the Sword is one portion only.

FOR the experienced have said, "By Policy kingdoms may be conquered, and numerous hosts  
 "may be defeated, which by the Swords of united armies cannot be overthrown."

AND by experience it is known unto me, that one tried soldier, of magnanimity, and of bravery, and of resolution, and of skill, and of circumspection is more valuable than a thousand men who want discretion and knowledge. For one experienced and able soldier can direct the efforts of thousands of thousands.

AND by experience it is known unto me, that victory over the foe proceedeth not from the greatness of armies, nor defeat from inferiority of numbers: for conquest is obtained by the Divine Favour, and by skilful and judicious measures.

T H U S, aided by deliberation and forefight, with two hundred and forty three warriors only, I came down on the castle of Kurshee. † And in the castle and the neighbourhood thereof, Ameer Moofi and Mulik Bahaudur had sat down with twelve thousand horsemen; and by the aid of Almighty God and by skilful measures I subdued the castle of Kurshee.

† A city of Mauwur u Nuhur, or Transoxiana, Long. 99. Lat. 39.

وبا دوازده هزار سوار امير موسي وملك  
 بهادر آمده مرا در قلعه قرشي محاصره نمودند ومن  
 اعتباد بر تايبد ايزدي كردم واز روي تدبير واحتياط  
 از قلعه بر آمدم ومرتبه بهرتبه جنگ كردم وبابن  
 دو صد وچهل و سه كس دوازده هزار سوار را شكست  
 دادم وچند فرسنگ راه تعاقب ايشان نمودم

وبتجربه من رسيد كه راي و تدبير  
 وكنكاش با مردي دانا دل هوشيار مي آيد اگرچه  
 تهشيت كارها در پرده تقدير مستور است ليكن بر  
 سنت سنیه محمدي صلي الله عليه وسلم هر كاري  
 كه كردم بهشاورت كردم

وچون ارباب راي وكنكاش جمع مي  
 آمدند از خير وشر و نفع وضرر كردن وناكردن كارها  
 كه در پيش بود پرسش مينمودم وچون سخنان  
 ايشان را مي شنيدم هر دو طرف آنها ملاحظه مي كردم  
 ونفع وضرر آنها بخاطر مي آوردم ومخاطرات آن  
 كار

AND Ameer Moofi and Mullik Bahaudur, <sup>Book I.</sup> with their twelve thousand horsemen, came and surrounded me in the castle of Khurshee. And I rested on the favour of the Almighty, and I sallied forth with skill and with circumspection from the castle, and I assaulted them repeatedly. And with those two hundred and forty and three people I defeated twelve thousand horsemen, and pursued them for many Fursungs.\*

AND by experience it is known unto me, that counsel, and deliberation, and skilful measures are only to be found with the wise and the sagacious. Therefore, notwithstanding the conclusion of every worldly event, is covered by the curtain of Fate, yet, according to the holy word of Mahummud (on whom be the Blessing of the Almighty) in every enterprise which I undertook, I acted from counsel and deliberation.

AND when my counsellors and my advisers were assembled together, I demanded their opinions on the good and on the evil, and on the advantages and on the disadvantages of undertaking, or relinquishing, the enterprise before us. And when I had heard their opinions thereon, I myself examined both sides of their opinions. And I duly weighed the advantages and the dis-

\* Fursung is a league of about six thousand yards.



کار را بنظر اعتبار میدیدم و هر کاری که در آن  
 دو خطر میدیدم طرح میکردم و کاری که یک  
 خطر داشت اختیار می نمودم

چنانچه من به تعلقیپور خان صلاح  
 دارم در وقتی که امرای وی در دشت جته علم  
 مخالفت برافراختند از من گنگاش خواست و بوی  
 گفتم که اگر فوج بدفع و رفع ایشان بفرستی دو خطر  
 متصور است و اگر خود متوجه شوی یک خطر و وی  
 به گنگاش من عمل کرد و متوجه دشت شد و چنان  
 شد که بوی گفته بودم

و در جمیع کارها مشاورت بکار بردم و در  
 انصرام آن کار تدبیر درست میکردم و راه بر آمدن  
 آن کار را ملاحظه نموده شروع در آن کار میکردم  
 و از بوی تدبیر و عزم درست و حزم و احتیاط و پیش بینی  
 و دور اندیشی باتهام میرسانیدم

و بجزیه

advantages ; and I considered the perils thereof with the <sup>Book I.</sup> eye of attention. And every plan, in which I discovered a two-fold hazard, I rejected ; and I chose that in which the peril was single.

THUS I advised Tughulluk Timour Khaun, when his Ameers exalted the standard of rebellion in the Dusht of Jitteh. Behold he demanded counsel from me ; and thus I said unto him—" If thou send an army  
 " to disperse and expel them, a two-fold danger may be  
 " apprehended therefrom : \* but if thou thyself advance  
 " against them, one peril only." And he acted according to my counsel, and turned towards the Dusht of Jitteh : and that which I had fore-told unto him, came to pass.

AND I entered on every measure with counsel and advice ; and in the execution of that measure I acted on a plan which was uniform and good. And after examining the avenue of retreat, I entered on the execution thereof. And by skill, and by resolution, and by caution, and by circumspection, and by fore-sight, and by penetration I brought that enterprize to a fortunate conclusion.

\* i. e. If he sent Forces, and went not himself, they might be defeated ; or they might be prevailed upon to join the rebels : but the latter, if he went himself, was not to be apprehended.

و بتجربه من رسید که صاحب کنکاش  
 جمعی توانند بود که از روی اتفاق بر گفتار و کردار  
 خود عازم باشند و از آن کار هیچ وجه  
 نگذرند و اگر گویند نکنیم پیرامون آن کار  
 نکردند

و بتجربه من رسید که کنکاش دو  
 قسم است زبانی و ته دلی آنچه زبانی می شنیدم  
 کوش میکردم و آنچه ته دلی می شنیدم در کوش  
 دل جای میدادم

و در هنگام لشکر کشیها از صلح و جنگ  
 پرسش مینمودم و دلهای امرای خود را می جستم  
 که جنگ جویند یا صلح و اگر از صلح سخن میکردند  
 منافع صلح را با ضرر جنگ مقابله می نمودم و اگر  
 از جنگ حرف میزدند نفع و فایده آنرا با ضرر صلح  
 ملاحظه میکردم هر کدام غالب در نفع بود همان را  
 اختیار مینمودم

و هر

AND by experience it is known unto me, <sup>Book I.</sup>  
that those are worthy to be counsellors, who steadfastly  
adhere to that which they say, and to that which they  
do; and who on no account relinquish the measures on  
which they have resolved; and who, if they say, "We  
" will not do this," keep far from the action which they  
have condemned.

AND by experience it is known unto me,  
that there are two kinds of counsel — that which pro-  
ceedeth from the tongue, and that which proceedeth from  
the recess of the heart. I turned my ear to that which  
proceeded from the tongue; but to the counsel of the  
heart, which I heard, I gave a place in the treasury of  
my soul.

AND in times of hostility I sought counsel  
relative to peace and to war; and I studied the hearts of  
my chiefs, whether they were desirous of war or of peace.  
And if they advised peace, I compared the advantages of  
peace with the perils of war. And if they proposed war,  
I opposed the profits and advantages thereof to the in-  
conveniences and dangers that might follow from peace:  
and which ever appeared most profitable, that I preferred  
and approved.

AND

وهر کنکاشي که سپاه را دو دل می  
 ساخت از استماع آن احتراز میکردم وهر صاحب  
 کنکاش که مضطربانه کنکاش میگفت آنرا هکوش  
 میکردم و مردی که عاقلانه و مردانه سخن میکرد  
 آنرا می شنیدم

و کنکاش از همه کس می پرسیدم  
 لیکن خیر و شر هر سخن را ملاحظه می نمودم  
 و طرف صلاح و صواب آنرا اختیار میکردم  
 چنانچه در وقتی که تغلقتیپور خان  
 نبیره چنکیز خان بعزم تسخیر ماورالنهر از آب خجند  
 گذشت ویرلیغ طلب بنام من و امیر حاجی برلاس  
 و امیر بایزید جلایر صادر ساخت و ایشان از من کنکاش  
 خواستند که با اهل والوس خود بجانب خراسان  
 برویم یا رفته تغلقتیپور خان را به بینم من بایشان  
 کنکاش کردم که در دیدن تغلقتیپور خان  
 دو نفع است و یک ضرر و در رفتن خراسان دو ضرر

\* i. e. Such as occasioned a difunion of sentiments among them, or rendered them doubtful or apprehensive.

† i. e. To Timour &c. commanding them to submit and come in to him.

‡ *Amir* signifies a Prince, or Leader; and is a title given to all the nobility

AND I hearkened not to those counsels Book I.  
which divided the hearts of my soldiers. \* And every  
counsellor who gave his opinion under the dominion of  
fear, I turned my ear unto him : but to the man who  
spoke with judgment and with firmness, I listened with  
attention.

AND I asked counsel from all : but I con-  
sidered the good and the evil of every opinion ; and from  
each I selected those things which were just and expé-  
dient.

THUS when Tughulluk Timour Khaun,  
of the line of Chungaze, crossed the waters of Khujjund  
with a determination to reduce the kingdom of Mauwur  
u Nuhur, and issued mandates of summons in my name,†  
and in the names of Ameer Haujee Burlaus ‡, and Ameer  
Bauezzeed Jullaur ; those chiefs asked counsel of me,  
saying, “ Shall we flee into Khörausaun, with our fa-  
“ milies and with our hords, or shall we go and see Tu-  
“ ghulluk Timour Khaun ? ” I counselled them, say-  
ing, “ There are two advantages and one peril in seeing  
“ Tughulluk Timour ; and in fleeing to Khörausaun.

bility of the first rank in the Mögöl empire ; also to the commanders of  
bédits of troops. Ameer Haujee Burlaus was the uncle of Timour. He  
and Ameer Bauezzeed Jullaur were both chiefs of tribes in the kingdom  
of Mauwur u Nuhur.

“ there

است و یک نفع ایشان کنکاش مرا قبول نکردند  
و متوجه خراسان شدند و من در رقتن خراسان و دیدن  
تغلقتیهور خان دو دله شدم

و درین امر از پیر خود کنکاش خواستم  
ایشان در جواب من نوشتند که از خلیفه چهارم  
کرم الله وجهه سوال کردند که هرگاه اسپانها  
کهانها کردند و زمینها زه آن کهانها شوند و حوادث  
تیرها شوند و آدمیان هدف آن تیرها کردند  
و تیرانداز خدای باشد جل جلاله آدمیان بکجا  
بگریزند خلیفه در جواب فرمود که آدمیان را است  
که در خدا گریزند پس تراست که درینوقت در  
تغلقتیهور خان گریزی و تیر و گمانرا از دست وی  
بگیری و از رسیدن این جواب قوی دل گشتم  
ورفته تغلقتیهور خانرا دیدم

\* i. e. By obeying the summons of Tughulluk Timour it was possible that they might preserve their country from depredation, and ensure the safety of their families and effects, at the risque perhaps of their own lives. Whereas by disobeying the summons, and retiring into Khorasfaun, they would

لیکن

“there are two perils, and but one advantage.”\* And Book I.  
 they approved not of my counsel, and they turned towards  
 Khorausau: and I also was divided within myself, whe-  
 ther I should retire into Khorausau, or whether I should  
 see Tughulluk Timour.

AND on this occasion I asked counsel of  
 my PEER; who in his answer wrote unto me, saying,  
 “It was once demanded of the fourth Khulleefeh † (on  
 “whom be the mercy of the creator), If the canopy of  
 “heaven were a bow; and if the earth were the cord  
 “thereof; and if calamities were the arrows; if man-  
 “kind were the mark for those arrows; and if Almighty  
 “God (the tremendous and the glorious) were the uner-  
 “ring Archer; to whom could the sons of Adam flee  
 “for protection?” The Khulleefeh answered, saying,  
 “The sons of Adam must flee unto the Lord? Thus, it  
 “is thy duty at this time to flee unto Tughulluk Timour;  
 “and to take from his hand the bow and the arrows of  
 “wrath.” And when I received this Answer, I became  
 strong of heart, and I went, and I saw Tughulluk Timour  
 Khaun.

would be banished from their country, and deprived of their Principalities;  
 with no other advantage, but that of having secured for a time their own  
 personal safety.

† The Caliph Aali.

C

BUT



لیکن در هر امری از امور که کنکاش  
بر آن قرار می یافت بقران فال می کشادم و بحکم  
قران عمل می نمودم

و چون در دیدن تغلقتیپور خان  
بیمبختی فال کشیدم سوره یوسف علیه السلام بر  
آمد و بحکم قران مجید عمل کردم

کنکاش اول که در دیدن تغلقتیپور  
خان از مشرق دلم سر بر زد این بود

که چون به سامع من رسید که  
تغلقتیپور خان بیکچک و حاجی بیک ارکنت والی  
تغلقتیپور گریخت را با دیگر امرای جته سه فوج ساخته  
بتاخت و غارت مملکت ماورالنهر تعیین نموده بودند و  
افواج امرای سه گانه در منزل خزار نزول نموده اند  
چون کنکاش دیدم که اول رفته امرا را بهال  
فریفته تطبیع نمایم که از تاخت و قتل و غارت ولایت  
ماورالنهر عنان بکشند تا آنکه من رفته تغلقتیپور  
خان را به بینم

و چون

BUT in every action of the actions of my <sup>Book I.</sup> life, on which I had deliberated, I drew an omen from the sacred KORAUN, and I acted according to the direction thereof.

AND when I sought a presage in the KORAUN concerning the seeing of Tughulluk Timour, the Chapter of Eusoof\* (peace be with him) came forth: and I followed the direction of the sacred book.

THE FIRST MEASURE which my heart <sup>DESIGN</sup> dictated unto me concerning the seeing of Tughulluk Timour, was this.

HAVING heard that Tughulluk Timour <sup>A. D.</sup> Khaun had appointed Begchuk, and Haujee Beg of the <sup>1369.</sup> A. TIM. Tribe of Arkunut, and Allugh Tuktimour of the Tribe <sup>25.</sup> of Kurreet, and other Ameers of Jitteh, with three armies, to ravage and lay waste the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur; and that those three armies under those Ameers were arrived at Khuzzaur, behold, I deemed it necessary that I should first go unto them, and deceive them by presents, and excite their avarice by temptations, that they might withdraw their hands from desolating and ravaging the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, and from slaughtering the inhabitants thereof; until I should go and see Tughulluk Timour Khaun.

\* i. e. Joseph. Alluding to the protection which that patriarch afforded to his family, when in Egypt. See Sale's *Koran*. Chap. 12.

و چون امرای مذکور را دیدم سطوت  
 من در ایشان اثر کرد و از راه تعظیم و تکریم پیش  
 آمدند و چون دلهای ایشان مانند چشمهای تنک  
 بود و ساوری که بدیشان دادم در نظر ایشان بسیار  
 نبود و دست از تاخت و تاراج ماورالنهر باز داشتند  
 و من رفته تغلقتیپور خان را دیدم و وی دیدن مرا  
 شکون گرفت و از من کنکاش خواست و آنچه از  
 من شنید همه را پسندیده داشت

و درین حال بهسامع تغلقتیپور خان  
 رسید که امرای افواج سه گانه مبلغهای و ساوری  
 از اهالی ماورالنهر گرفته اند و در ساعت آن مبلغ را  
 بر ایشان اطلاق کرد و تحصیلدار تعیین نمود  
 و ایشان را از رفتن ماورالنهر منع کرد و ایشانرا معزول  
 ساخت و حاجی محمود شاه یسوری را بجای ایشان  
 نصب کرد

و چون این خبر بهسامع امرا رسید  
 علم مخالفت بر افراخته مراجعت نمودند  
 و در این حال به اعلان خواجه که دیوانبیک  
 و امیر

AND when I came unto those Ameers, my <sup>Book I.</sup> power \* made an impression upon them, and they received me with honour and respect. And behold their hearts, like unto their eyes, were blind and contracted, and the presents which I gave unto them, seemed great in their sight: and they withdrew their hands from ravaging and destroying the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur. And I went, and saw Tughulluk Timour Khaun; and he took my coming for a happy omen: and he asked counsel of me, and all that which he heard me say, he approved.

AND at this time news came to the ears of Tughulluk Timour Khaun that the Ameers of the three armies had taken monies and gifts from the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur: and he instantly commanded those sums to be delivered up, and he appointed collectors thereof. And he forbade them to enter into Mauwur u Nuhur; and he turned them out from their commands; and he appointed Haujee Muhmood Shaah Yefoori to supply their place.

AND when intelligence of these things reached the ears of the chiefs, they elevated the ensign of enmity, and they retired towards their homes. And at this time they were met on their way by Aghlaun

\* Having taken all his own tribe, and all the principal people of Mauwur u Nuhur along with him. Vide Fragm. Hist. p. 327 et 328. MS. HUNTER.

Khaujeh,

وامیر کنکاج خان بود برخوردارند واورا هم از خود  
کرده بجانب جته روان شدند

وهدرین وقت خبر رسید هکه امرای  
تغلقتیپور خان در دشت قیچاق علم مخالفت بر  
افراشته اند خان مضطرب شد واز من کنکاش خواسته  
روی بطرف دشت جته باز نهاد

وماورالنهر را بمن گذاشت ودرین باب  
یرلیغ وعهد نوشت وتومان امیر قراچار نویان را از  
ماورالنهر بمن باز گذاشت ومن بر ولایت ماورالنهر تا  
کنار آب جیحون فرمان فرما گشتم واین کنکاش  
در ابتدای دولت وسلطنت من بود وبتجربه من  
رسید که یک تدبیر درست کار صد هزار سوار  
میکند

\* The president of his council.

† This circumstance is erroneously related in Aali Yezudi ; who says that the Toumaun of Kurrauchaur Nooyaun only was conferred upon him, and that not by Tughulluk Timour Khaun himself, but by the *Leaders of his advanced guard*. Vide Petis de la Croix's *Histoire de Timour Bek*. Tom. II. p. 35.

‡ A Toumaun is a military *hief* capable of sending forth ten thousand fighting men : it also signifies that number of men collected together.

Nooyaun, in the Mogul language signifies a *prince*, or the *defendant of a prince*. Kurrauchaur Nooyaun was the fifth ancestor of Timour, and

Khajeh, who was the Deewaunbeghee,\* and the chief Book I.  
 counsellor of the Khaun, and they drew him also over to  
 their side : and they proceeded on their way to Jitteh.

AND at this time also news arrived that  
 the Ameers of Tughulluk Timour had exalted the stan-  
 dard of rebellion in the Dusht of Kipchauk : and the  
 Khaun was disturbed in heart, and he asked counsel  
 of me; and he turned back his face to the Dusht of  
 Jitteh.

AND he gave unto me the government of  
 Mauwur u Nuhur,† and in this matter he wrote a com-  
 mission and an agreement; and he restored unto me the  
 Toumaun‡ of Ameer Kurrauchaur Nooyaun in that king-  
 dom : and I became the ruler of all the kingdom of  
 Mauwur u Nuhur, even to the waters of Jihoon.§ And  
 this action came to pass in the beginning of my fortune  
 and power. And I found by experience that one skilful plan  
 can perform the service of a hundred thousand warriors.

and the Vizzeer of Chughtai Khaun, one of the sons of Chungaze Khaun.  
 (Ghenghis Can.)

§ Thus it appears that Tughulluk Timour Khaun, who had advanced  
 no farther than Khojjund on the river Sihoon, and was unable to prosecute  
 the reduction of Mauwur u Nuhur on account of the dissensions which  
 Timour had sown betwixt him and the chiefs of his army, and also on ac-  
 count of the rebellion of his Ameers in the Dusht of Kipchauk, took ad-  
 vantage of the submission of Timour to obtain a nominal dominion over  
 Mauwur u Nuhur, by conferring upon him the title of Viceroy in that  
 kingdom.

THE

کنکاش دویم که در عنوان سلطنت

خود کردم این بود

که چون تغلق تیمور خان مرتبه دیگر بر

مملکت ماورالنهر لشکر کشید و نقص عهد کرد

و حکومت ماورالنهر را از من گرفت و بالیاس خواجه

پسر خون سپورد و مرا سپه سالار و مشیر وی ساخت

و عهد نامه قاجولی بهادر و قبل خانرا ظاهر ساخت

من هم بنابر قول و عهد بزرگان سپه سالاری را

قبول کردم

\* Kubbul Khaun and Kaujooli Bahaudur were twin brothers, and the sons of Toumunch Khaun. Kubbul Khaun was the great grandfather of Chungaze Khaun [Ghenghis Can], and Kaujooli Bahaudur was the eighth ancestor of Timour, and the great grandfather of Kurrauchaur Nooyau, mentioned before.

Thus it appears, that Chungaze Khaun and Timour both sprang from the same stock, i.e. from Toumunch Khaun; who was the fourth ancestor of Chungaze Khaun, and the ninth ancestor of Timour. Toumunch Khaun was succeeded by his son Kubbul Khaun, and Kubbul Khaun was succeeded by Burtun Khaun in the sovereignty of the Moguls.

And it appears that an agreement had taken place between Kubbul Khaun and Kaujooli Bahaudur (at the desire perhaps of their father Toumunch Khaun) that the former (who was the elder brother) and his posterity should succeed to the dignity of Khaun, and that the latter (who was the younger brother) and his posterity should always fill the post of chief minister and leader of the forces, and that the descendants of both should, by this agreement between their fathers, be bound to live in constant friendship and amity with each other. And this is the agreement shewn by Tughulluk Timour Khaun, who was descended in a right line from Chungaze and Kubbul Khaun,

THE SECOND DESIGN which I formed in Book I. the beginning of my fortune and power, was this.

DESIGN  
II.

WHEN Tughulluk Timour Khaun drew an army on the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur a second time, and broke his engagements, and took from me the government of Mauwur u Nuhur, and delivered it over to Ouleaus Khaujeh his son, and offered me the post of counsellor and general to that prince, and shewed unto me the agreement between Kaujooli Bahaudur, and Kubbul Khaun ; \* I also, on account of the engagements and agreements of my ancestors, consented to lead his armies.

A.D.  
1370.  
A. TIM.  
26.

Khaun, to Timour, descended in a right line from Kaujooli Bahaudur : who, on perusing the above-mentioned agreement, considered himself bound to accept the appointment offered him by Tughulluk Timour. Thus Timour, in *Fragm. of Hist.* p. 128. l. 3. MS. HUNTER, says,

در شهر سنه هفصد و ششت و دو که تعلقتیپور خان  
مرتبه دویم به ماورالنهر لشکر کشید نامه در باب  
طلب بمن فرستاد و من هم استقبال کرده ویزا دیدم  
ووی نقص عهد کرده ماورالنهر به پسر خود الیاس  
خواجه داد و مرا سپه سالار ساخت و چون مرا تیره  
یافت عهد نامه قاجولی بهادر جد من و قبل خان را  
ظاهر ساخت چون من آن عهد نامه را که بر صفحه  
فولاد نقش کرده بودند که خانی بر اولاد قبل  
خان متعلق باشد و سپه سالاری به اولاد قاجولی بهادر  
و مخالفت



وچون ظلم و تعدی اوزبکیه در ماورالنهر  
 بسیار شد چنانچه هفتاد سید و سیدزاده را اسیر  
 ساخته بوزند والیاس خواجه از سلطنت بهره نداشت  
 و در منع ظلم و تعدی ایشان عاجز بود من از روی  
 سطوت بر اوزبکان غلبه کردم و مظلومان را از دست  
 ظالمان خلاص ساختم و این معنی سبب عناد امرای  
 الیاس خواجه و اوزبکان شد

و به تعلقیه خان نوشتند که تیپور  
 علم مخالفت بر افراخته است و خان این اقترارا  
 راست دانسته یرلیغ بکشتن من صادر کرد و آن  
 یرلیغ بدست من افتاد

و مخالفت یکدیگر نکنند مطالع کردم بنابر وفای  
 عهد مخالفت نه نمودم و سپه سالاری را قبول کردم

i. e. "In the beginning of the year of the Hejra 762 [A. D. 1360] when  
 "Tughluluk Timour Khaun drew an army a second time into Mauwur u  
 "Nuhur, he sent unto me a mandate, ordering me before him; and I  
 "went to meet him, and I saw him. And he broke his engagements, and  
 "delivered over Mauwur u Nuhur to his son Ouleous Khaueh, and ap-  
 "pointed me the leader of his forces. And when he saw that I was dissa-  
 "tisfied with his proceedings, he shewed unto me the agreement between  
 "my ancestor Kaujeoli Bahaudur and Kubbul Khaun. And when I read  
 "that agreement (which they had engraved on a tablet of steel) setting  
 "forth,

و کشته

AND when the cruelties and the oppressions of the Ouzbuds became great in the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, (for behold they had carried into slavery seventy Siuds, and sons of Siuds) and the power of Ouleaus Khaujeh availed him nought, and he was no longer able to restrain their cruelties and oppressions; in the spirit of authority I rushed upon the Ouzbuds, and I delivered the oppressed from the hand of the oppressors. And this circumstance was the cause of disobedience in the Ameers of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and in the soldiers under them. Book I.

AND they wrote unto Tughulluk Timour Khaun, saying, "Timour hath exalted the standard of "rebellion." And the Khaun thought that the accusation was true: and he issued an order to put me to death: and that order fell into my hands.

"forth, that the dignity of Khaun should appertain to the posterity of  
 "Kubbul Khaun, and that the post of minister and general should belong  
 "to the posterity of Kaujooli Bahaudur, and that they should live in amity  
 "with each other: I also to fulfil the engagement of my ancestors, refrained from enmity, and consented to lead his armies."

*This note is formed from authorities found in Abulghazi Khan's genealogical history of the Tartars, in D'Herbelot, and in the Fragment of the history of Timour, p. 153. l. 9. — And the passages illustrated here and in the notes on page 23. will to the oriental scholar serve to refute the falsehoods of the Arabian author Ibn Arabshaab, and to prove the superior accuracy and authenticity of the life of Timour written by himself over that composed by Alli Yezzudi; who has hitherto been considered by the learned of Europe as the most perfect and faithful narrator of the actions of Timour.*

و کشته شدن خود را معاینه کردم و در  
 علاج آن چنین تدبیر کردم که جوانان بهادر  
 الوس برلاس را بر سر خود جمع آورم و ایشان را بخود  
 متفق سازم و اول کسی که دست متابعت بین داد  
 ایکو تیپور بود و دویم امیر جاکو برلاس و دیگر  
 بهادران از جان و دل اختیار متابعت من نمودند

چون اهالی ماورالنهر از داعیه من آگاه  
 شدند که اراده کرده ام که بر اوزبکان خروج  
 نمایم چون دلهای ایشان از طایفه ظالم اوزبکان  
 منجرف شده بود اکابر و اصاغر اهالی ماورالنهر  
 بین متفق شدند و علها و مشایخ فتوی بدفع و رفع  
 طایفه اوزبکیه نوشتند و بعضی امرا الوسات و قشونات  
 نیز برین معنی اتفاق نمودند  
 و صورت فتوی و عهدی که کرده  
 بودند و بر کاغذی ثبت نمودند اینست

\* *Alout*, of which *Aloufaut* is the plural, signifies a tribe, or *bord*. A true explanation of the Tartar word *Kushoon* has not been met with. Mr. Petis de la Croix calls it a *body of a hundred soldiers*: but this interpretation is undoubtedly erroneous. The words *Kubbeeleb*, *Taucefeh*, *Ouemauk*, *Alous* and *Kushoon*, (some of which are Arabic) all appear to signify a tribe or *bord*; but there must be some distinction between them unknown to Europeans.

AND I reflected upon my danger : and to remedy the evil, this was the design which I formed — that I should gather round me the valiant youth of the tribe of Burlaus, and attach them unto me. And the first man who gave unto me the hand of obedience, was Eekou Timour ; and the second was Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus : and after him other warriors, from their hearts and from their souls, consented to receive my commands.

WHEN the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur obtained knowledge of my purpose, that I had resolved to rise in opposition to the tribe of Ouzbuk ; as their hearts were turned aside from that oppressive people, both the rich and the poor of the people of Mauwur u Nuhur united themselves unto me. And the religious, and the holy men issued forth a decree, authorizing the expulsion and the extirpation of the Ouzbeks. And in this undertaking certain of the Ameers of Alousaut and and of Kushoonaut joined also. \*

AND the decree and the engagement to which they had agreed, and which they caused to be written, is this. “ According to the conduct and the ex-

Europeans. The *Kushoonaut* (which is the plural of *Kushoon*) may here mean *bodies of military men drawn from tribes or hords*, as the word *Toumaun* sometimes signifies. The number of the *Toumaun* is known to be ten thousand ; that of the *Kushoon* may perhaps be somewhat less : but it can hardly signify so insignificant a number as a hundred men. Several particulars in this work tend to confirm this opinion.

“ example

که مطابق سیرت و صورت خلفای راشدین رضوان  
 الله تعالی علیهم واجمعین اهل اسلام سپاه و رعیت  
 و علما و مشایخ و بزرگواران دیده ملقب بر سلطنت قطب  
 السلطنه امیر تیمور را ایده الله نهوده اند که بهال  
 و جان در رفع و دفع و قلع و قمع طایفه اوزبکیه که دست  
 ظلم و تعدی به عرض و ناموس و مال و اسباب مسلمانان  
 دراز کرده اند کوشش نمایند

و ما در عهد و بیعت خود درستی  
 پیمان باشیم و اگر خلاف پیمان و عهد نبایم از  
 حول و قوت الهی برآمده داخل حول و قوت شیطان  
 باشیم

و چون فتوی را بین نمودار ساختند  
 خواستم که علم قتال و جدال بر افرازم و بر سر  
 اوزبکان لشکر بکشم و داد مظلومون از ظالمان  
 بکسیرم لیکن بعضی مردم اراذل این را از فلان  
 کردند

و دیگر باره خود بخود گنگاش کردم  
 که اگر در سهرقند بمقابله و مقاتله اوزبکان اشتغال  
 نبایم

“ ample of the orthodox Khulleefehs, † (on whom be Book I.  
 “ the favour of Almighty God) the followers of Islaum,  
 “ the doctors, and the holy men, and the soldiers, and the  
 “ subjects, seeing Him noble and worthy thereof, HAVE  
 “ NOMINATED AMEER TIMOUR (the Polar star of do-  
 “ minion, on whom be the favour of God) to the em-  
 “ pire: and with their wealth, and with their lives they  
 “ will exert themselves in expelling and in driving out,  
 “ and in extirpating and in destroying the tribe of Ouzbuk,  
 “ who have stretched forth the hand of cruelty and ra-  
 “ pine over the families and over the wealth, and over  
 “ the property and over the effects of the faithful.”

“ AND we will be firm in our engagements;  
 “ and if we deviate from our agreement and from our  
 “ compact, may we be deprived of the grace and of  
 “ the protection of Almighty God; and be delivered  
 “ over to the power and the dominion of the devil!”

AND when they shewed unto me the de-  
 cree, I was eager to exalt the standard of war and of  
 slaughter, and to draw down an army on the people of  
 Jitteh, and to revenge the oppressed on the heads of the  
 oppressors: but certain of the worthless revealed my in-  
 tentions.

AGAIN, I deliberated with myself, that  
 if I made war upon them in the city of Summurkund,  
 it might come to pass that the people of Mauwur u Nu-

† The Caliphs Abaubukkur, Omur, Osmaun and Aali.

نہایم مبارا اهل ماورالنہر کوتاہی کنند پس  
چنین کنکاش دیدم کہ از سہرقتند برآمدہ در کوه  
مقام کنم تا ہر کس کہ بہن متفق باشد نزد من  
آید انکسہ جہیت کردہ بقتال وجدال اوزبکان  
مبادرت نہایم

چون از سہرقتند بر آمدم زیادہ  
از ششت سوار دیگر کسی با من بر نیامد ودانستم  
کہ در کنکاش خود غلط نکرده ام

وچون یکہفتہ در آن کوه توقف نمودم وکسی  
بین در نیامد خود بخود کنکاش کردم کہ بجانب  
بدخشان رقتہ شاہان بدخشان را بخود متفق سازم  
وسوار شدم وخدمت امیر کلال رقتہ  
ایشان مرا ارشاد نمودند کہ بجانب خوارزم عنان  
عزبت معطوف دارم ومن مال یکسالہ سہرقتند را نذر  
ایشان کردم کہ اگر بر اوزبکان ظفر یابم با ایشان  
بگذرانم وایشان فاتحہ فتح خواندہ مرا رخصت دادند

وچون از خدمت ایشان بر آمدم ہبکی  
ششت سوار با من بود وچون خبر نہضت من در  
خوارزم

hur might shrink back from their engagements : therefore I resolved to come forth from Summurkund, and to fix my habitation in the hills, that every one who was united with me might come in unto me ; and that having gathered together an army, I might advance and make war upon the Ouzbuku.

AND when I came forth from Summurkund, sixty warriors only came forth with me ; and I saw that I had not erred in my deliberations.

AND when I had remained seven days in those hills, and no one had come in unto me, I determined with myself that I would proceed to Buddukhsaun, and draw unto my standard the princes thereof.

AND I set out, and I went into the presence of Ameer Goolaul.\* And he directed me that I should turn the reins of my intention towards Khauruzm. And I promised unto him the revenue of Summurkund for one year—that I would lay it before him, if I proved victorious over the Ouzbuku. And he repeated over me the prayer of victory, and permitted me to depart.

AND when I came forth from the presence of Ameer Goolaul, sixty horsemen were all that were with me. And when the news of my arrival in Khauruzm reached the ears of Ouleaus Khaujeh, he wrote

\* A religious man, celebrated for his piety.



خوارزم بالیاس خواجه رسید به تکل بهادر حاکم  
 خیوق نوشت که بر سر من آمده مرا ضایع سازد  
 و تکل بهادر با هزار سوار بر سر من آمد و من با  
 ششت سوار خود و با امیر حسین که در راه آمده بین  
 ملحق شده بود رو برو شدم و بجنگ در آمدم و تا  
 بجای جنگ و کوشش نبودم که از هزار کس وی  
 پنجاه کس ماند و از ششت سوار من ده کس ماند  
 تا آنکه در معنی فتح از جانب من شد

و چون خبر فتح من بیسماع الیاس  
 خواجه و امرا جته رسید با هم گفتند که تیپور عجیب  
 مردی و صاحب اقبال و تاییدات است و این فتح را بر  
 خود شکون \* گرفت و چشم اوزیکان از من تیره شد

کنکاش سیوم که در اصلاح سلطنت  
 خود کردم این بود

که در آن وقت که احوال دولت من  
 مختل شد و اساس سلطنت من از هم کسبخته شد  
 چنانچه زیاده از ده کس همراه من نبود که هفت  
 کس سوار بودند و سه پیاده و جز آنها کسی دیگر  
 با من نبود و ههشیره امیر حسین که حرم متحرم

\* An asterisk placed after a word (in the Persian text) signifies that it is of Mogul origin.

unto Tukkul Bahaudur the governor of Khiook, that he Book I.  
 should fall upon me and destroy me. And Tukkul Bahau-  
 dur came upon me with a thousand horsemen : and I op-  
 posed him with my sixty warriors, and with Ameer  
 Hooffein who had come and joined me in the way ; and  
 I entered into battle. And I fought with such obstinacy  
 and resolution, that of the one thousand horsemen of  
 Tukkul Bahaudur fifty remained, and of my sixty war-  
 riors ten remained ; and the victory in effect was mine.

AND when the news of my success reach-  
 ed the ears of Ouleaus Khaujeh and the Ameers of  
 Jitteh, they said among themselves, “ Timour is a won-  
 “ derful man : fortune and the Divine favour are with  
 “ him.” And I called this victory a favour from heaven  
 conferred upon me : and the eyes of the tribe of Jitteh  
 were darkened by my success.

THE THIRD DESIGN which I formed for DESIGN  
III.  
 the restoration of my power, was this.

AT the time when the state of my fortune  
 was reduced low, and when the foundation of my power  
 was broken asunder, so that my associates were ten only  
 (and seven of them were on horses, and three of them  
 were foot-men) and none other remained with me ; in  
 those days the sister of Ameer Hooffein, who was my  
 honoured wife, I placed behind me on my horse, and I

من بود ویرا با خود بر اسب خود سوار ساخته بودم  
 و در صحرائی خوارزم سرگردان می گشتم تا آنکه شبی  
 پسر چاهی فرود آمدم و همان شب آن سه نفر خراسانی  
 بیوفا سه اسب را گرفته و سوار شده گریختند و در میان  
 هفت کس چهار اسب ماند و احوال من بسیار مختل  
 شد لیکن قوی دل بودم و انشای خطا نکردم

واز سر آن چاه روان شدم و در این وقت  
 علی بیک چون غربانی بر سر من آمد و مرا برده  
 در خانه پر از کیک محبوس ساخت و نگاهبانان بر  
 من تعیین نمود و شش و دو روز مرا در قید نگاهداشت  
 و خود بخود کنکاش کردم و بتایید الهی  
 مویده شده بقوت بازوی جلالت شمشیری از  
 نگاهبانان کشیده بر ایشان حمله آوردم و نگاهبانان  
 روی بگریز نهادند و من پیش علی بیک رفته ایستادم  
 و وی از عمل نا شایسته خود که مرا مقید ساخته  
 بود شرمند و منفعل شد و عذر خواست

و اسپان و برات مرا حاضر آورد و یک اسب  
 لاغر و یک اشتر نا توان آورده بین پیشکش نمود  
 و ارمغان که برادرش محمد بیک بهن فرستاده بود  
 در آن طبع نمود و پاره نگاهداشت و مرا رخصت نمود  
 و بجانب

wandered to and fro in the desert of Khauruzm, until Book I.  
on a certain night I alighted at a well, And even in that  
night the three faithless Khorausauni \* seized on three  
horses, and mounted them and fled : and four horses only  
remained for seven people, and my distresses were very  
great : but I was strong of heart, and I lamented not  
over my misfortunes.

AND I departed from the well ; and at  
this time Aali Beg Choun Ghoorbauni came upon me,  
and he carried me away, and confined me in a habita-  
tion filled with vermin, and placed a guard over me, and  
kept me imprisoned for sixty and two days.

AND I deliberated with myself, and aided  
by the assistance of Almighty God, with the strength of  
the arm of vigour I wrested a sword from my guards and  
I rushed upon them : and the guards turned their faces  
to flight, and I went and stood before Aali Beg. And he  
was ashamed and confounded at his evil conduct, that he  
had thrown me into prison ; and he made excuses.

AND he ordered my horses and my arms  
to be brought forth ; and he gave me a horse that was  
lean, and a camel that was past service as a present.  
But he thirsted after the gifts which his brother Mahum-  
mud Beg had sent unto me, and he kept back a part  
thereof ; and he suffered me to depart.

\* Natives of Khorausaun.

AND

و بجانب بیابان خوارزم روان شدم  
 و دوازده سوار بر سر من جمع آمدند و بعد از دو روز  
 به موضعی رسیدم و در خانه نزول نمودم و جمعی از  
 ترکمانان که در آن موضع می بودند اغری \* گفته  
 بر من جمله آوردند و من هبشیره امیر حسین را در  
 خانه مضبوط ساختم و بذات خود بر آن جماعه جمله  
 کردم و در این وقت شخصی حاجی محمد نام که  
 در میان ترکمانان بود مرا بشناخت و فریاد بر آورد  
 که امیر تیمور است و مردم را از جنگ منع کرده زانوزد  
 و من ویرا تسلی کردم و مندیله خود را بر سر وی  
 نهادم و وی آمده با برادران خود ملازم من شد

کنکاش چهارم که در اوایل سلطنت  
 خود کردم این بود

که چون ششت سوار نزد من جمع  
 آمدند بخود کنکاش کردم که اگر در موضعی که  
 رسیده بودم اقامت نمایم مبادا اهل آن موضع دست

\* The word thus translated is in the original *Aghuri*, and evidently of Mogul origin. The Mogul language is, in this work and in most other oriental authors, called *Toori Zubaan* and *Zubaan a Toorki*, or the language of the Toorks. But notwithstanding the language, known in Europe by the name of Turkish, must have been derived from the same origin, this and several other Mogul words retained by the Persian translator in

تطاؤل

AND I fet out toward the defart of Khau- Book I.  
 ruzm, and twelve horfemen united themfelves unto me.  
 And after two days I came to an inhabited place, and I  
 alighted at one of the dwellings thereof. And certain of  
 the Toorkummauns, who were in that place, gave a loud  
 fhout,\* and rufhed upon me. And I fecured the fifter of  
 Ameer Hooffein in the houfe, and I affaulted thofe people  
 in my own perfon. And at this time a man among the  
 Toorkummauns, whole name was Haujee Mahummud,  
 knew me again; and he exclaimed aloud, “ It is Ameer  
 “ Timour.” And he ordered the people to defift, and he  
 kneeled before me. And I received him kindly, and I  
 placed my turban on his head; and he came with his  
 brethren, and was my fervant.

THE FOURTH DESIGN which I formed in DESIGN  
IV.  
 the early days of my power, was this.

WHEN fixty horfemen were gathered  
 round me, I reflected with myfelf, that if I continued  
 in the place where I then fojourned, perhaps the inhabi-  
 tants thereof might extend the hand of treachery over  
 me, and fend news of my condition to the tribe of Jitteh.

in this work, are not to be found in any Lexicon, and are confequently un-  
 known. Where the probable fenfe is discoverable from the context, as in  
 the prefent cafe, an interpretation is given in the tranflation; and where-  
 ever the meaning is beyond the reach of conjecture, the Mogul word is  
 retained in the verfion; its origin in both cafes being marked for the bene-  
 fit of the Perfian fcholar. See note on pag. 34.

And

تطاول بر من دراز کنند و خبر مرا در اوزیگان  
فرستند و صلاح حال خود در این دیدم که از آن موضع  
بر آیم و در صحرای که از معبوره دور باشد نزول نمایم  
تا آنکه لشکر که بازوی سلطنت است نزد من جمع آید

واز آن موضع بجانب خراسان متوجه شدم  
و در راه مبارک شاه سنجری حاکم ماخان با یکصد  
سوار نزد من آمد و اسپان خوب پیشکش کرد و جمعی  
از سادات و اهالی نیز بهین ملحق گشتند و قریب دو  
صد نفر سوار و پیاده در آن صحرا با من همراه گشت

و درینوقت مبارک شاه رسید حسن و سید  
ضیاء الدین بهین عرض کردند که توفی نبودن درین  
صحرا باعث پریشانی است بطرفی باید رفت و ولایتی  
جهت بودن مسخر باید ساخت و من خود بخود  
کنکاش کردم و با ایشان گفتم که بخاطرم این کنکاش  
رسیده که متوجه طرف سهرقند شویم و شبایانرا در موضع  
مضافات بخارا متفرق سازم و خود بحوالی سهرقند رفته  
و بهیان اهل والوسات در آمده ایشانرا بخود متفق سازم  
و لشکری جمع ساخته و شبایانرا طلب داشته با لشکر جته  
و الیاس خواجه در اقمتم و مملکت ملورالنهر را مسخر سازم  
ایشان

And I saw that my safety consisted in this — that I should come forth from that place, and that I should sojourn in the desert, far from the habitations of men; until an army, which is the sinews of Empire, should be gathered around me. Book I.

AND I journeyed from that place toward Khorausaun; and Mubauruk Shaah Sunjuri, the governor of Maukhaun, came to me on the way with an hundred soldiers, and presented some chosen horses to me: and certain of the descendants of the prophet and of the inhabitants also came in unto me; and near two hundred men, horse-men and foot-men, joined me in the desert.

AND at this time Mubauruk Shaah, and Siud Hoofun, and Siud Zeau u deen said unto me, "Our tarrying in this desert is the cause of our distress; we must go from hence, and we must seize on some Province for an habitation." And I deliberated with myself, and I said unto them, "This measure occurreth to my mind — that we advance towards Summurkund, and that I disperse you in the secure places of Bokh-aura; and that I myself go into the parts adjacent to Summurkund, and enter among the people and the tribes, and unite them with me: and having collected an army, and called you unto me, that I encounter Ouleaus Khaujeh and the forces of Jitteh, and subdue the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur."

F

THEY



ایشان همگی این کنکاش و تدبیر مرا  
پسندیدند و درین عزیمت فاتح خوانده روان شدم  
و این دو صد کس را در حوالی بخارا متفرق ساختم  
و الجای ترکان آغا همشیره امیر حسین را پنهانی در  
آن موضع گذاشتم و متوجه سهرقند شدم

و تبهوکه قوچین با پانزده سوار آمده در  
راه بین ملحق شد و راز خود را بوی گفته و برا نزد  
مبارک شاه فرستادم و خود میان الوسات در آمده قریب  
دو هزار کس را با خود متفق ساختم که هرگاه در  
سهرقند علم سلطنت برافرازم ایشان خود را برسانند

و شب پنهانی داخل شهر سهرقند شدم  
و بخانه قتلغ ترکان اغای خواهر کلان خود رفته  
نزول نمودم و شب و روز در فکر و تدبیر بودم و چهل  
و هشت روز پنهانی گذرانیدم تا آنکه بعضی از اهالی  
شهر بر آمدن من اطلاع نمودند و نزدیک بود که  
بسر من فاش شود ناچار با پنجاه سوار که در شهر  
با من بودند شب از سهرقند بر آمده بطرف خوارزم  
متوجه شدم و جمعی از پیادگان هم با من رفاقت  
کردند

THEY all approved of my counsel and my design; and having repeated the prayer of success on our attempt, I proceeded forward. And I dispersed those two hundred people in the environs of Bokhaura, and I secreted Aljaié Turkaun Aughau, the sister of Ameer Hooffein, in that place; and I advanced toward Summurkund. Book I.

AND Tumookch Kouchein met me on the way with fifteen horsemen, and joined me. And I communicated my secret unto him, and sent him to Mubauruk Shaah. And entering myself among the tribes, I confederated with me near two thousand of the people: and whenever I exalted the standard of empire in Summurkund, they were to join me.

And I entered the city of Summurkund under the cover of the night; and going to the dwelling of my eldest sister Kuttulugh Turkaun Aughau, I sojourned therein. And I was buried in thought and reflection night and day. And I passed forty eight days undiscovered; until at length certain of the inhabitants gave information of my arrival, and my situation was near to be revealed. I was without remedy; and with fifty horsemen, who were with me in the city, I came forth from Summurkund by night, and I proceeded toward Khauruzm: and certain of the foot-soldiers also came with

کردند و در اثنای راه چند اسپ از کله ترکمانان  
بدست آوردند و پیادگان خود را سوار ساختند

و آمده در موضع اچیغی در کنار آب  
آموده در زمین پست و بلند نزول نمود و در همین  
جای اهل حرم و مبارک شاه رسید حسن و جباعه را  
که در حوالی بخارا گذاشته بود آمده بهین ملحق  
شدند و تیمور خواجه اغلان و بهرام جالیر با افواج خود  
آمده ملازمت نمودند و قریب هزار سوار نزد من جمع  
آمدند و از اینجا خود با خود کنکاش کرده روانه باختر  
زمین و قندهار شدم و آن ملک را مسخر گردانیدم

کنکاش پنجم که در ایام خروج خود  
کردم این بود

که چون بجانب باختر زمین و قندهار  
روان شدم بکنار آب هیرمن رسیدم و نزول نمودم  
و بورتی بجهت خود ساختم و چند روز بتیپارداری سپاه  
در کنار آن آب توقف نمودم

و در این وقت سپاه و رعیت ولایت کرمسیر

\* It may be proper to observe, for the credit of Timour, that before he took those horses, he enquired out the owners and sent for them, and gave them a written order for their value. This happened in the principality of Kufh.

me. And on the road I took horses from among the droves of the Toorkummaun; \* and I mounted my foot-  
 soldiers thereon. Book I.

AND I came and I encamped at Atcheghi in the hilly grounds on the banks of the waters of Amuveah: in this place my family, and Mubauruk Shaah, and Siud Hooffun, and all those whom I had left in the environs of Bokhaura, came and joined themselves unto me. And Timour Khanjeh Aghlaun and Behraum Julanir, with their forces, came and served me; and near a thousand horsemen were gathered round me. And I deliberated with myself, and I set out from thence towards Baukhtur Zemecn and Kundahaur, and I subdued those countries.

THE FIFTH DESIGN which I formed DESIGN V.  
 in the days of enterprise, was this.

WHEN I departed towards Kundahaur and Baukhtur Zemecn, I came to the border of the river of Hiremun, and I sojourned there, and I made for myself an habitation; and I tarried some days on the border of that river to refresh my people.

AND at this time the soldiers and the inhabitants of Kurrunfeer came in unto me; and near a

Kush. Vide Timour's full account of this transaction in the Fragment of his History. pag. 355. l. 5. MS. HUNTER.

thousand

رجوع آوردند و قریب بهزار سوار از ترک و تاجک نیز بر  
من جمع شد و ولایت گرمسیر مسخر من گشت

و در این وقت کنکاش کردم که بر  
ولایت سیستان ترکناز آورم و چون خبر بوالی سیستان  
رسید ارمغان و ساوری\* فرستاد و طلب مدد کرد که  
جبهی از دشمنان بر من ظلم کرده و ملک مرا با هفت  
قلعه متصرف شده اند اگر دست دشمنان از ملک  
من کوتاه شود شش ماهیه علوفه سپاه را بفرستیم  
و کنکاش درین دیدم که عنان عزیت

بجانب سیستان معطوف دارم و از هفت قلعه که  
دشمنان وی متصرف شده بودند پنج قلعه را جبراً  
و قهراً گرفتم در دل والی سیستان هراس راه یافت  
و دشمنان خود را با خود دوست کرد و با خود کنکاش  
کردند که اگر امیر تیبور درین ملک اقامت کند ملک  
سیستان از دست ما بدر خواهد رفت و سپاه و رعیت  
تباہی مہلکت سیستان حشر کردند و بر سر من آمدند  
و چون دیدم که والی سیستان بعهده  
خود وفا ننہود ناچار شدم و سر راه بر ایشان طعنه  
قتال وجدال نمودم و تیری آمد و بر بازوی من خورد  
و نیز یک تیر دیگر بر پای من رسید آخر بر ایشان  
ظفر یافتم

و چون

thousand horsemen also, Toork and Tauchesk, were gathered round me; and the country of Kurrumseer submitted to my authority. Book I.

AND at this time I resolved that I would invade the province of Seistaun. And when the ruler of Seistaun received accounts thereof, he sent offerings and rich gifts unto me, and he demanded succour, saying, "Certain of my enemies have oppressed me, and they have seized upon my lands, and upon seven castles.—" "If the hands of my enemies be withdrawn from my dominions, I will advance six months wages to the soldiers."

AND I saw it was good that I should turn the reins of my intentions toward Seistaun. And of the seven castles which were in the hands of his enemies, I subdued five castles by force and by assault. — And fear found admission into the heart of the ruler of Seistaun, and he made his enemies his friends; and they said among themselves, "If Ameer Timour tarry in this country, the province of Seistaun will pass out from our hands." And they gathered together the soldiers and the people of all the country of Seistaun, and they came upon me.

AND when I saw that the ruler of Seistaun fulfilled not his engagement, I was without remedy; and I advanced toward them, and gave them battle. And an arrow came and pierced my arm, and another arrow also came upon my foot, but in the end I obtained the victory over them.

AND

و چون آب و هوای آن ملک را بیزاج خود  
 موافق ندیدم برخاسته به گرمسیر آمدم و در آن ولایت  
 دو ماه اقامت نمودم تا آنکه زخبهایی من به شد

کنکاش ششم که در وقت خروج خود  
 کردم این بود

که چون گرمسیر مسخر من گردید  
 و زخبهایی من به شد کنکاش درین دیدم که رفته  
 در کوهستان سرحد بلخ اقامت نهیم و جمعیت کرده  
 بتسخیر ملک ماورالنهر متوجه شوم و چون برین کنکاش  
 عزیمت بستم سوار شدم و هبکی چهل سوار با من بودند  
 اما همه اصیل و اصیل زاده و امیر زاده بودند و تنگتری  
 تعالی را شکر گفتم که در چنین پریشانی همچنین  
 مردم بی ندوایی توشه آمده همراهی و اطاعت مرا قبول  
 کرده اند و با خود گفتم الله تعالی را بهن کار بسیار  
 است که این نوع مردم همسر مرا بهن مطیع ساخته

و بجانب کوهستان بلخ نهضت نمودم و در  
 اثنای راه صدیق برلاس از اولاد یلدرین قراچار نویان  
 که بطلب من سرگردان میی کشت با پانزده سوار آمده  
 بهن ملحق شد و من آمدن ویرا شکون \* گفتم  
 و درین

AND when I saw that the air and the water of that country suited not with me, I departed from thence, and I came back to Kurrumfeer; and I sojourned in that land for two months, until my wounds were healed. Book I.

THE SIXTH DESIGN which I formed in the days of enterprize, was this. DESIGN VI.

WHEN Kurrumfeer had submitted to my authority, and my wounds were healed, I saw it was good that I should go and sojourn in the mountains on the borders of Bullukh; and having collected an army, that I should proceed to subdue the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur. And when I resolved on this measure, I departed from thence: and forty horsemen were all that were with me. But they were all resolute men, and the sons of resolute men, and the sons of Ameers. And I gave praise unto God, for that in such distress such men should come, without purse and without scrip, and follow me, and be obedient unto me. And I said unto myself, God Almighty doeth great things for me; seeing he hath made such men, even my equals, my servants.

AND I went on towards the mountains of Bullukh, and Suddenk Burlaus (of the race of Yeldureen Kurrauchaur Nouyaun) who was wandering in search of me, met me in the way with fifteen horsemen, and joined me; and I took his coming for a happy omen.

G

AND



ودرین ایام بکوشش شکار اوقات می  
گذرانیدیم و پیش می رفتیم و در اثناء راه دیدم که  
فوجی بر پشته ایستاده وساعت بساعت زیاده می شدند  
واستاده قراولان فرستادم تا خبر آورند و قراولان بآن  
جاعت رسیده خبر آوردند که قرائچی بهادر نوکر  
قدیم امیر است که با صد سوار از لشکر جته جدا شده  
و بطلب امیر سرگردان می گردد من سجده شکر  
تنگری تعالی بجا آوردم و امر باحضر قرائچی کردم و وی  
آمده زانوزد و در پای مرا بوسه داد و من ویرا تسلی  
نمودم و مندیله خود را بر سر وی نهادم و متوجه دره  
ارصن شدم

ویدره ارصن رسیده نزول نمودم و روز  
دیکر سوار شدم و در آن دره در آمدم و در میان دره  
بلندی بود بغایت خوش هوا و من رفته بر آن بلندی  
جای گرفتم و لشکریان هر یک در حوالی آن پشته  
فرو آمدند

و من آن شب گه جیغ بود زنده  
داشتم و چون صبح بدمید بنهاز مشغول شدم و بعد از  
انای نهاز دست برداشته بدعا مشغول شدم و در  
انای

AND in those days we passed our time in Book L. hunting, and we proceeded forward. And on the way I beheld a body of men standing on a hill; and their numbers increased from time to time: and I halted, and sent people to obtain intelligence. And they went in among those men, and brought back intelligence, saying, "It is "Kurraunchee Bahaudur, the old servant of Ameer,\* who "with an hundred horsemen hath separated from the armies of Jitteh, and is wandering in search of thee." I bowed in gratitude to Almighty God, and I sent orders for Kurraunchee to approach. And he came, and he knelt before me; and he kissed my feet. And I received him with affection, and I placed my own turban on his head. And I went on to the valley of Arsuff.

AND I came to the valley of Arsuff, and I pitched my tents. And on the next day I mounted my horse, and entered into the valley. And in the midst of that valley there was a hill; and the air thereof was very delightful. And I went and dwelt upon that hill; and my people, each of them, pitched their tents in the neighbourhood thereof.

AND on that night, which was a holy night,† I kept watch; and when the morning broke, I was employed in prayer. And after repeating the prayers

\* i. e. Timour.

† Friday, the Mahummudan sabbath.

اثنای دعا مرا رقتی دست داد و از تنگتری تعالی  
درخواست کردم که مرا از این سرگردانی نجات دهد

و هنوز از دعا فارغ نگشته بودم که فوجی  
از دور نمودار شد که از برابر بلندی میگذرد و من سوار  
شده از عقب آن فوج در آمدم تا احوال ایشانرا معلوم  
نمایم که ایشان چه مردم اند و ایشان همگی هفتاد سوار  
بودند از ایشان پرسیدم که بهادران شما چه کسانی  
و ایشان گفتند ما نوکران امیر تیهوریم که بطلب امیر  
میگردیم و اینک ویرا نمی یابیم و من بدیشان گفتم که  
من هم یکی از نوکران امیر ام چونست که شما را  
راهبری نموده بامیر برسانم و یکی از ایشان اسپ خود را  
تاخته و رفته خبر بسرداران برد که راهبری یافته ایم  
که ما را به امیر تیهور رساند و ایشان عنان اسپان خود را  
کشیدند و حکم باحضار من نمودند و ایشان سه فوج  
بودند و سردار فوج اول تغلق خواجه برلاس بود و سردار  
فوج دوم امیر سینی الدین بود و سردار فوج سوم توبک  
بهادر بود و چون نظر ایشان بر من افتاد میخود شده از  
اسپان خود پیاده شدند و آمده زانو زدند و رکاب مرا  
بوسیدند و من هم از اسپ فرود آمدم و هر کدام را در  
بغل

prescribed by the law, I lifted up my hands in supplication. Book I.  
And in the midst of my supplication I wept: and I implored Almighty God, that he would deliver me from that wandering life.

AND I had not yet rested from my devotions, when a number of people appeared afar off: and they were passing along in a line with the hill. And I mounted my horse, and I came in behind them: that I might know their condition, and what men they were. And they were in all seventy horsemen; and I asked of them, saying, "Warriors, who are ye?" And they answered unto me, "We are the servants of Ameer Timour, "and we wander in search of him; and lo! we find him "not." And I said unto them, I also am one of the servants of Ameer: how say ye, if I be your guide, and conduct you unto him? And one of them put his horse to speed, and went and carried news to the leaders, saying, "We have found a guide, who can lead us to "Ameer Timour." And the leaders drew back the reins of their horses, and gave orders that I should appear before them. And they were three troops. And the leader of the first troop was Tughulluk Khaujeh Burlaus, and the leader of the second troop was Ameer Sife u deen, and the leader of the third troop was Toubuk Bahaudur. And when their eyes fell upon me, they were overwhelmed with joy; and they alighted from their horses, and they came and they kneeled, and they kissed my stirrup. And  
I also.

بغل کرستم و منديل خود را بر سر تغلق خواجه نهادم  
و کبرند خود را که بسيار پر کار و زر بافت بود بر کبر  
امير سيني الدين بستم و جامهء خود را بر توبک بهادر  
پوشانيدم و ايشان رقت کردند و مرا هم رقت شد و وقت  
نہاز دررسييد و بجمعيت نہازرا ادا کرديم و سوار شده  
و آمده بيورت نزول نموديم و مجلس ساخته طوي دادم  
و روز ديگر شير بهرام هم که از روي  
خوردی از من جدا شده بود و اراده زمين هندوستان  
در دل داشت رسيد و مرا ملازمت نمود و عذر خواست  
و من ويرا در کنار گرفتيم و عذرش را پذيرفتم  
و آن قدر مہرباني کردم کہ از خجالت بر آمد

کنکاش هفتم کہ در ايام خروج خود  
کردم اين بسود

کہ چون سان لشکر خود ديدم کہ  
هفکي سه صد و سيزده سوار بودند بخود کنکاش  
کردم کہ يکي از قلاع را بدست آورده جاي بودن  
قرار دهم و چنين کنکاش کردم کہ اول قلعه  
الاجورا کہ از جانب الياس خواجہ منکلي  
بوغا ملدوز در آن قلعه مي بود منظر سازم و جاي  
نکاه

I also came down from my horse, and took each of them Book I.  
 in my arms. And I put my turban on the head of Tughulluk Khaujeh; and my girdle, which was very rich in jewels and wrought with gold, I bound on the loins of Ameer Sife u deen, and I cloathed Toubuk Bahaudur in my coat. And they wept, and I wept also. And the hour of prayer was arrived, and we prayed together. And we mounted our horses, and came and alighted at my dwelling: and I collected my people together and made a feast.

AND on the next day Share Behraum, who had separated from me in the narrowness of his heart, and had resolved to go into the land of Hind, arrived also. And he came into my presence, and he made excuses. And I took him into my arms, and I accepted his excuses; and I treated him with such kindness, that he came forth from his confusion.

THE SEVENTH DESIGN which I formed DESIGN VII.  
 in the days of enterprise, was this.

WHEN I saw the number of my forces, that they were in all three hundred and thirteen horsemen; I determined with myself that I would seize on one of the castles, and make to myself a residence. And thus I resolved, that I would first reduce the castle of Aulajou; (and Munguli Booghau Suldoze, on the part of Ouleaus Khaujeh, was in that castle,) and that I would  
 make

نگاه داشتن بار و پرتل خود گردانم و باین عزیزست  
روانه قلعه الاجو شدم

و شیر بهرام با وی از قدیم اشنای  
داشت و التماس کرد که من رفته منکلی بوغارا  
ایل گردانم

و چون شیر بهرام بحولی قلعه رفت  
مرا پیغام داد که منکلی بوغا اظهار میکند چون  
این قلعه را الیاس خواجه بین سپرده از مردی و مروت  
دور است که من بامیر تیپور ایل شده قلعه را  
بسپارم و در دادن قلعه اقبال نبود

لیکن این قدر شد که از خبر توجه  
من و اهله در دل وی جای کرد و قلعه را گذاشته  
رو بگریز نهاد و سه صد مرد از قوم دولان جاوون که  
در قلعه با وی بودند و از قدیم در سلک ملازمان من  
انسلک داشتند آمده بین ملحق گشتند

و بیوضع دره صوفی رسیدم و درین وقت  
املس پسر تومن بهادر که بحوالی بلخ بجهت تاخت  
آمده بود خبر رسیدن مرا شنید و با دو صد سوار آمده  
ملازمت نمود و من ویرا تسلی داده مستهل ساختم  
واز

make it a place wherein to keep my baggage and my effects. And with this intention I set out toward the castle of Aulaujou. Book I.

AND Share Behraum had long acquaintance with the governor of that castle : and he spoke unto me, saying, " I will go and I will bring Munguli Booghau " over to our side."

AND when Share Behraum went near to the castle, he sent word unto me, saying, Munguli Booghau sayeth, " Since Ouleaus Khaujeh gave this castle " in charge unto me, it is far from manhood and from " fidelity that I should come over to Ameer Timour, and " give up the castle : " and he refused to deliver it up.

BUT thus much came to pass, that on receiving information of my approach, terror took possession of his heart, and he left the castle, and he turned his face to flight. And three hundred men of the tribe of Doulaun Jauwun, who were with him in the castle, and who from old times were included in the train of my servants, came and united themselves unto me.

AND I arrived at the defile of Souf, and in those days Umlis, the son of Toumun Bahaudur, who had come down into the neighbourhood of Bullukh to plunder, received news of my coming ; and he came with two hundred horsemen and joined me : and I received him kindly, and I encouraged him.

H

AND



واز همین جا تهرکه بهادر را با سه  
 سوار فرستادم که از آب ترمذ گذشته خبر لشکر جته  
 بیاورد و از اراده و کنکاش ایشان خود را آگاه سازد  
 تهرکه بعد چهار روز آمده خبر رسانید  
 که لشکر جته بولایت ترمذ رسیده و بقتل و غارت مشغول  
 اند چون این خبر بهن رسید عنان عزیمت بجانب  
 دره گر معطوف داشتم و کنکاش دزین دیدم که  
 رفته در دره گر اقامت نمایم و قابو یافته بر سر لشکر  
 جته ترکتاز آورم

و چون بدره گر در آمدم و در میدان  
 ایلچی بوغا کنار آب جیحون نزول نمودم خبر من  
 بالیاس خواجه رسید که بدره گر رسیده ام و افواج  
 خود را بر سر من تعیین نمود

و درین وقت خبر رسید که امیر سلیمان  
 برلاس و امیر موسی و امیر جاکو برلاس و امیر جلال  
 الدین و امیر هندو که برلاس که در لشکر جته بودند  
 از امرای جته رو گردان شده و با لشکر خود جدا  
 گردیده بترمذ گهنه رسیده اند و تولاں بوغارا که نزد  
 من

AND even from this place I sent Tum-mookeh Bahaudur with three horsemen, that having passed over the waters of Turmuz, he should bring intelligence of the army of Jitteh, and inform himself of their counsels and designs.

AND Tummookeh returned after four days, and brought intelligence, saying, "The army of Jitteh "is arrived in the land of Turmuz, and they are employed in rapine and in slaughter." When I received this intelligence, I turned the reins of my intention towards the streights of Guz. And I saw it was good that I should go into the streights of Guz, and sojourn there : and seizing an opportunity, that I should go down on the army of Jitteh.

AND when I came into the streights of Guz, I pitched my tents in the plain of Ilchee Booghau, on the border of the waters of Jihoon. And Ouleaus Khaujeh received news of me, that I was arrived in the streights of Guz ; and he sent his forces upon me.

AND in those days intelligence came, that Ameer Soolamaun Burlaus and Ameer Jullaul u deen and Ameer Hindookeh (who were in the army of Jitteh) having turned their faces from the leaders of that tribe, and separated from them with their forces, were arrived at old Turmuz : and Toulau Booghau, whom they had

من فرستاده بودند رسیده ملازمت نمود و خبر رسیدن ایشان را بعرض رسانید که با هزار سوار بپلازمت میرسند

و آمدن ایشان را بر خود شکون \* کرتم  
و بر من کنکاش گفتند که شب بر لشکر جته  
شبخون باید برد چون سوار شدم خبر رسید که  
لشکر جته رسیده می آید من افواج خود را ترک  
کرده در مقابل ایشان ایستاده شدم و آب در میان لشکر  
ایشان و لشکر من حایل بود

و کنکاش درین دیدم که مخالفان را  
بحرف و حکایت نگاهدارم و آتش سوزش ایشانرا به  
آب تدبیر فرو تشام و ایشان را بخود رام سازم  
و بسنردار لشکر جته که امیر ابو سعید  
بود سخن کردم و آنچه بوی گفتم قبول کرد لیکن  
امرای دیگر مخالفت وی کرده بر جنگ قرار دارند  
و آتش غیرت من هم شعله کشید و افواج خود را ترک  
کردم

کنکاش هشتم که در شکست دادن  
لشکر جته کردم این بود

که با خود گفتم اسکر با لشکر جته  
جنگ کنم چون ایشان بسیارند میباید چشم زخمی  
بلشکر

sent unto me, arrived and saw me, and informed me of Book I.  
their approach, that they were coming to serve me with  
a thousand horsemen.

AND I took their coming for a good omen :  
and they counselled me, saying, "Thou must fall upon  
"the army of Jitkeh by surprise in the night." And  
when I mounted my horse, news was brought that the  
army of Jitkeh was arrived and coming down upon me.  
And I put my forces in order, and I stood over against  
them ; and the water was between their army and my  
army.

AND I saw it was good, that I should  
amuse the enemy with words and with persuasions, and  
extinguish the fire of their animosity with the water of  
policy, and bring them over unto me.

AND I spoke to the leader of the army of  
Jitkeh (who was Ameer Aboo Saeed), and that which I  
said unto him, he took well. But the other leaders op-  
posed him and resolved on war. And the fire of my  
spirit also flashed forth, and I formed my forces in order  
of battle.

THE EIGHTH DESIGN which I formed DESIGN  
VIII.  
(in defeating the army of Jitkeh) was this.

I SAID unto myself, "If I fight with the  
"army of Jitkeh, seeing they are very many, perhaps evil  
"may come unto my people." And at this time the spirit  
of

بلشکر من برسد درین حال غیرت کریبان کبر من شد  
وگفت که چون بدعوی سلطنت خروج کرده لایق  
شان ومرتبه سلطنت همین است که بر جنگ عازم  
گردی یا مظفر و منصور شوی یا کشته گردی

چون برین عزیمت عازم شدم دیدم که  
غنیم سه فوج شده راه جنگ می طلبند و من لشکر  
خود را هفت فوج ساختم وکنکاش کردم که دفع بدفع  
افواج هفتگانه خود را بر ایشان کشاد دهم و چون نایره  
قتال وجدال بلند شد امر نمودم که افواج هراول بخانه  
کمان در آمده تیر باران نمایند

وافواج شقاو وچپاول را \* امر کردم  
بچپقولش \* در آیند و خود با افواج جرانغار وبرانغار \*  
بحرکت در آمدم و در حمله اول و دوم فوج  
امیر ابو سعید که امیر الامرای لشکر جته بود  
برداشتیم

درین حال حیدر اندخودی و منکلی  
بوغا ببارزت پیش آمدند من خود بایشان رو برو  
شدم و در حمله اول ایشانرا نیز متفرق ساختم و تباهی  
لشکر جته از هم فرو ریخته متفرق و پراکنده شدند  
کنکاش

of glory assaulted me and said, Since thou hast advanced Book I.  
forth with pretensions to empire, even this is becoming  
the dignity and the rank of a king, that thou resolve on  
war; and that thou be either victorious and triumphant,  
or be slain in battle.

AND when I had resolved on this measure, I saw that the enemy were divided into three bodies; and that they were eager to engage. And I divided my forces into seven squadrons; and I determined that I would send down my seven squadrons upon them, one after the other. And when the flames of war and of slaughter ascended high, I commanded the advanced guards to take to their bows, and to rain arrows upon the enemy.

AND I commanded the squadrons of the front lines of the left and the right wings to go into battle. And I myself advanced with the troops of the second lines of the left and the right wings. And in the first and the second charge I drove back the squadrons of Ameer Aboo Saeed, who was the chief leader of the army of Jitteh.

AND it came to pass at this time, that Hydur Andookhodee and Munguli Booghau advanced to the fight. And I myself opposed them face to face; and in the first charge I defeated them also. And all the forces of Jitteh dissolved away, and were scattered and dispersed abroad.

THE

کنکاش نهم که در قوام سلطنت  
 خود کردم این بود  
 که چون بر امرای لشکر جته ظفر یاقتم و خبر خروج  
 من بدعوی سلطنت در توران زمین منتشر شد  
 عزیت بستم که بداد و دهش فرمان فرما کردم  
 کنکاش استقامت سلطنت خود را درین یاقتم که خزانه  
 که فراهم آورده بودم از نقد و جنس بر سپاه قسبت  
 نمایم و اول قلعه قهلقه را مسخر کردانم

چون لشکر خود را تغار داده تیزوک  
 کردم و بکنار آب جیحون رسیدم و از گذر ترمذ  
 عبور کردم و قراولان بطرف قهلقه فرستادم و در کنار  
 آب جیحون چند روز مقام نمودم و منتظر خبر قراولان  
 می بودم

چون خبر من بالیاس خواجه رسید  
 چون بهادر برادر بیکچک را با افواج کران بر سر  
 من تعیین کرد و قراولان غافل شده بخواب رفته  
 بودند و از ایشان گذشته و شب بشب آمده بر سر من  
 شبخون آورد

وزمینی

THE NINTH DESIGN which I formed in Book I. establishing my regal power, was this.

WHEN I had obtained the victory over the leaders of the army of Jitteh, and the news of my advancing forth, and aspiring to the throne, was made public throughout the land of Tooraun; I resolved that I would become a king by generosity and by liberality. And I saw the duration of my power in this, that I should divide among my soldiers the treasures which I had gathered together, both the money and the effects: and that I should first subdue the castle of Kehulkeh.

AND when I had given subsistence to my army, I put them in order, and I arrived on the border of the waters of Jihoon. And I crossed at the passage of Turmuz; and I sent out my Kurrauvul\* towards the castle of Kehulkeh; and I halted some days on the border of the waters of Jihoon, expecting intelligence from my Kurrauvul.

AND when Ouleaus Khaujeh heard where I was, he sent Alchoun Bahaudur, the brother of Begchuck, with a mighty army upon me. And my Kurrauvulaun were negligent, and went to sleep: and the enemy passed by them, and advanced night after night, and came upon me by surprise.

\* Scouts, light troops.



وزمینی که در آن نزول نموده بودم جزیره  
 بود و از سه طرف آب داشت چند خیمه که بیرون  
 جزیره بودند بتاراج لشکر جته رفتند و مردم بیرون  
 آمده داخل جزیره شدند  
 و من استعداد جنگ کرده آمده در کنار  
 جزیره ایستادم چون چشم غنیم ترسیده بود و بجنگ  
 مبادرت ننهوند

و من تا ده روز در آن جزیره اقامت  
 نمودم و بعد از آن از جزیره بر آمده در کنار آب  
 الجوتها\* زده تا مدت یکماه در برابر لشکر جته نشستم  
 تا آنکه غنیم هراس یافته مراجعت کرد و من از آب  
 گذشته در منزل ایشان فرود آمدم و فوجی را بتعاقب  
 ایشان فرستادم

کنکاش دهم که در استقامت سلطنت  
 خود کردم این بود  
 که چون لشکر جته را شکست دادم  
 صلاح کار خود درین دیدم که رفته ولایت بدخشان را  
 مسخر سازم و امور سلطنت خود را رواج دهم و از کنار  
 آب کوچ کرده در موضع خلم نزول نمودم  
 و امیر حسین نبیره امیر قرغن که  
 همیشه

AND the land in which I had pitched Book I.  
my tents was a peninsula: and it had water on three  
sides. Some tents, which were without the peninsula,  
were plundered by the forces of Jitteh: and the people  
that were without, came and entered into the peninsula.

AND I formed my troops in order, and  
went and stood on the neck of the peninsula: but the  
enemy were fearful, and they did not advance to the at-  
tack.

AND I tarried ten days in that peninsula;  
and I afterwards came forth from thence, and pitched  
my tents † on the border of the river. And I sat down  
opposite to the army of Jitteh for the space of one month;  
even till they were seized with fear, and returned back.  
And I crossed the river, and came down in their camp,  
and sent forces to pursue them.

THE TENTH DESIGN which I formed for DESIGN  
X.  
the advancement of my power, was this.

WHEN I had broken the forces of Jitteh,  
I saw it was good that I should go and subdue the coun-  
try of Buddukhsaun, and extend my dominions. And  
I marched from the border of the river, and encamped at  
the place called Khullum.

AND Ameer Hoossein, the grandson of  
Ameer Kurghun, whose sister was in my house, came;

† Literally, temporary huts or cantonements.

همیشه وی در خانه من بود آمده باهم ملاقات  
 نمودیم و طویلهای دادیم و کنکاش درین یافتیم که  
 روانه بدخشان شوم چون بقتدر رسیدم در آن موضع  
 اقامت نمودم تا آنکه سرداران ایل یوردای جمع آمده  
 بین پیوستند و بهر یک خلعتی داده تسلی نمودم

چون خبر اراستکی فوج من بشاهان  
 بدخشان رسید مستعد جنگ شدند کنکاش درین  
 دیدم که پیش دستی کرده تا ایشان لشکریهای خود را  
 جمع سازند ایشانرا در هم شکستم و ابلاغ کرده خود را  
 بطالخان رسانیدم

چون خبر رسیدن من بطالخان بهسامع  
 شاهان رسید از راه مصالحه در آمده ملازمت کردند  
 من از کنکاش خود راضی شدم و دیدم که غلط نکرده  
 بودم و سلطنت من در ولایت بدخشان رواج یافت  
 و اکثری از سپاه بدخشان آمده ملازمت اختیار کردند

کنکاش یازدهم که در رواج سلطنت خود  
 کردم این بود

که چون شاهان بدخشان با طاعت من  
 در آمدند متوجه ختلان شدم چون بهیلت ختلان  
 در آمدم بولان بوغا و شیر بهرام از بد سلوکی امیر  
 حسین جدا شده بالوس خود رفتند

و من

and we saw each other, and we made a feast. And I Book I.  
 found it was right, that I should go on towards Buddukhsaun. And when I came to Kunduz, I halted in that place until the chiefs of the people of Yeurldaice came together and joined me. And I gave to each of them a robe of honour, and I encouraged them.

AND when the news of the order and the strength of my forces arrived to the princes of Buddukhsaun, they prepared for war. And I saw it was good that I should be quick, and break their power, before they could gather their army together. And I marched with expedition, and I came to Taulkhaun.

AND when the news of my arrival at Taulkhaun reached the ears of the princes, they came in at the avenue of peace and saw me. I was satisfied with my own deliberations, and saw that I had not done wrong. And my power was established in the country of Buddukhsaun; and many of the soldiers of Buddukhsaun came unto me and chose my service.

THE ELEVENTH DESIGN which I formed DESIGN.  
 for extending my power, was this. XI.

WHEN the princes of Buddukhsaun came and submitted to my authority, I turned towards Khuttulaun. And when I came into the kingdom of Khuttulaun, Boulaud Boghau and Share Behraum, on account of the ill conduct of Ameer Hooftin, separated and returned to their tribes.

AND

ومن رفته در جلگای دشت کولک  
اقامت نمودم وجاسوسان تعیین کردم که رفته از لشکر  
جته والیاس خواجه خبر آورند

وجاسوسان بعد از ده روز خبر آوردند  
که امرای جته اول ایشان کوچ تیهور پسر بیگچک  
است و دوم ایشان تیهور نوکیان است و ساریق بهادر  
و شنکوم و تغلق خواجه برادر حاجی بیک با بیست هزار  
سوار از موضع خلایق تا پل سنکین تزلزل نموده اند

وایلچی نزد من فرستادند که احوال مرا  
و لشکر مرا بخاطر آورند من لشکر خود را دو باره بنظر  
ایلچی در آوردم و ایلچی را رخصت دادم  
و کنکاش خود را درین یافتیم که متعاقب  
ایلچی روان شوم لیکن لشکر خود را بخود متفق ندیدم  
و در متفق ساختن لشکر خود کنکاش چنین دیدم  
که به بعضی مروت نهانیم و به بعضی مدارا کنیم  
و گروهی را بهال فریفته سازم و جمعی را بسخن و قول  
و عهد تسلی دهیم

درین حال خبر رسید که تغلق  
سلدوز و گکی خسرو که از نوکران من  
بودند

AND I went and sojourned in the pasture-lands of the Dushit of Koulauk. And I appointed spies, that they should go and bring news of the armies of Jitteh and of Ouleaus Khaujeh. Book I.

AND after ten days the spies brought back intelligence, saying ; " The Ameers of Jitteh (and the first of them is Kooch Timour, the son of Begchuck ; and the second of them is Timour Noubukaun ; and the others are Saureek Bahaudur, and Shungoom, and Tughulluk Khaujeh, the brother of Khaujee Beg) with twenty thousand horsemen, have pitched their tents from the town of Khillautee even to the bridge of Sungheen."

AND they sent an ambaffador unto me, that they might know my situation and the strength of my army. And I drew out my army twice in the fight of the ambaffador, and dismissed him.

AND I saw my advantage in this, that I should set out after the ambaffador : but I found that my forces were not united with me. And to make them unanimous, I saw it was good that I should shew kindness to some, and that with some I should dissemble ; and that I should tempt some by riches, and soothe some by persuasions, and promises, and engagements.

AND at this time news arrived, that Tughulluk Suldoze, and Ki Khiffero (who were of my servants)

بودند شش هزار سوار جته سر کرده بر سر من می  
آورند چون این خبر به سامع لشکر من رسید تفرقه  
بخطرات ایشان پیشتر شد و اندیشناک گشتند لیکن  
امیر جاکو و ایکو تیمور و امیر سلیمان و امیر جلال  
الدین را بخود یافتم

کنکاش دوازدهم که در باب اتفاق  
لشکر خود کردم این بود  
که امیر جاکو و ایکو تیمور و امیر سلیمان  
و امیر جلال الدین را بخلوت طلب داشته خواستم  
ایشانرا بخود متفق گردانم چون بایشان خلوت  
کردم سخن بدیشان این بود که ایشانرا شریک  
دولت خود ساختم تا بر عزیت خود راسخ شدند

وطایفه که در مقام بی اتفاق بودند  
یک یک را بخلوت طلب داشته جداگانه محبت  
داشته آنهایی که حریص و طماع بودند بهال و منال  
فریفته ساختم و کزوهی را که نظر بر جاه و منصب  
و مملکت داشتند آنچه از ملک و ولایت مسخر من  
شده بود بدیشان نامزد کردم و همه را در میان امید

\* This expression occurs in several places, and is very obscure. Perhaps it means, that if he succeeded in his views on the kingdom of Mau-wur

vants) had taken the command of six thousand horsemen of Jitteh, and were bringing them down upon me. And when this news reached the ears of my people, the terror of their hearts was increased, and they were sore afraid. But I found that Ameer Jaukoo, and Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun, and Ameer Jullaul u deen were with me.

Book I.

THE TWELFTH DESIGN which I formed (in uniting the hearts of my people) was this.

DESIGN  
XII.

I CALLED unto me in private Ameer Jaukoo and Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Soolamaun, and Ameer Jullaul u deen; and I sought to confederate them with me. And when I retired with them in private, my words with them were these — “That I had made them “the partners of my fortune.” \* And they united firmly in my designs.

AND of those who were dissatisfied, I called each of them unto me in private, and spoke to them separately. And those who were covetous and avaricious, I tempted by wealth and by riches; and those who fixed their eyes on dignities, and commands, and governments, among them I shared out the countries and the provinces which I had subdued: and I kept them all suspended

wur u Nuhur, certain principalities should be given to them, and rendered independent of the crown.

K

between



وبیم نگاهداشتم واز برای هر یکی کوتلی \* تعیین کردم  
 و سایر سپاه را به لقمه و خرقه امیدوار  
 گردانیدم و بشربین زنائی و گشاده روی ایشانرا فریفته  
 خود ساختم و خدمات ایشانرا یکی بده باز نهوده  
 خوشدل گردانیدم تا آنکه موافق و منافع هبکی  
 بین متفق گشتند و عهد بستند که با من در  
 موافقت و جانسپاری بتقصیر راضی نشوند

چون خاطر من از لشکر جمع شد مستعد  
 جنگ الیاس خواجه شدم و در دفع ایشان و روش جنگ  
 چنین کنکاش کردم که پیش دستی بکار برم و تا  
 ایشانرا خبر شود بر ایشان ترکتاز آورم  
 درین باب بقران مجید فال کشادم  
 این ایه کریمه بقال آمد کم من فیه قلیلة غلبت  
 فیه کثیرة باذن الله

و چون این بشارت یافتم لشکر خود را  
 تنزوک کرده و هفت فوج مرتب ساخته روان شدم بر  
 وقت صبح بر سر تغلق سلدوز و کی خسرو که

\* *Kotal* is a Mogul word, and signifies one appointed to succeed to the government on the death or dismissal of the governor. By this artful policy he not only secured his authority over the provinces which he divided among

between hope and fear, and I appointed a Kotul \* to Book I.  
each.

AND I raised the hopes of all my foldiers by gifts and by presents : and I drew them over unto me by kind words, and by an open countenance. And the services which they had done, I extolled ten-fold, and made them joyful : even until those who were with me, and those who were against me, all joined with me firmly. And they took an oath, that in supporting me, and in devoting their lives unto me, they would not be wanting.

AND when my heart was at rest concerning my army, I prepared for the war of Ouleaus Khaujeh. And in defeating him, and in planning the order of battle, thus I determined — that I would use speed, and that I would go down upon them before they were aware.

AND concerning this I opened the holy book for an omen ; and this sacred verse came forth as a sign, “ How oft do the weak vanquish the powerful by “ the permission of Almighty God ! ”

AND when I had obtained this token, I formed my foldiers in order, and I divided them into seven squadrons, and I set out. And I came in the morning upon Tughulluk Suldoze and Ki Khiffero, ( who,

among his Ameers, by placing a spy ( for such was the Kotul ) over the conduct of each of them, but made every province answer the purpose of satisfying *two* instead of *one* of his Ameers.

هراول شده می آمدند رسیدم و در حبله دوم ایشانرا  
مقهور ساختم و تا کنار پل سنکین که منزل الیاس  
خواجه بود هزیت دادم

چون شب در آمد بسر زمینی که رسیده  
بودم نرول نمودم با خود کنکاش کردم که میدان جنگ  
افسوده نکسردانم و کرم کرم بسر لشکر الیاس خواجه  
که قریب به سی هزار اند ترکتاز آورم

و کنکاش کردم که اگر توقف نمایم  
مبادا امری روی دهد که در علاج آن محتاج کومک  
کردم با آنکه امیر حسین در عقب منزل داشت لیکن  
من خواب را بیدار وی محتاج نکردانیدم و به کنکاش  
دزست لشکر الیاس خواجه را شکست دادم

کنکاش سپزدهم که در شکست دادن  
لشکر جته والیاس خواجه نمودم این بود

که اول لشکر الیاس خواجه را بجایی  
از افواج قاهره مقید و معطل نگاهدارم بدین جهت امیر  
موبد ارلات و اوج قرا بهادر و امیر موسی را با دو هزار  
سوار بر سر پل رو بسوی الیاس خواجه  
نگاهداشتم  
ومن

being the Hurrauvul, \* were advancing ) and I over- Book I.  
powered them at the second charge, and I drove them  
back to the head of the bridge of Sungheen, which was  
the station of Ouleaus Khaueh.

AND as the night was come, I pitched my  
tents on the ground where I was, and I counselled with  
myself, that I would not let the plain of battle cool ; but  
that I would charge quick and hot on the army of Ou-  
leaus Khaueh : and they were near thirty thousand.

AND I considered, that if I was guilty of  
delay, something might come to pass, which might cause  
me to stand in need of assistance. And although Ameer  
Hooßein was encamped behind me, I did not cause my-  
self to stand in need of his support ; but by skilful mea-  
sures I defeated the forces of Ouleaus Khaueh, and the  
men of Jitteh.

THE THIRTEENTH DESIGN which I DESIGN  
formed, (in defeating the army of Jitteh and Ouleaus XIII.  
Khaueh) was this.

FIRST, I saw it was good, that by a body  
of my victorious army, I should confine and make useless  
the people of Jitteh : and for this purpose I stationed  
Ameer Muviud Arlaut, and Ouj Kurrau Bahaudur, and A-  
meer Moofi, with two thousand horsemen, at the head of  
the bridge of Sungheen, opposite to Ouleaus Khaueh.

\* Advanced guard.

AND

ومن خود با پنج هزار سوار از آب گذشته  
بر کوهی که مشرف بر لشکر الیاس خواجه بود برآمدم  
و فرمودم که شب آتش بسیاری برافروزند

و چون آتشها بنظر لشکر جته در آمد و فوج  
کلانی در سر پل سنکین دیدند مضطرب شدند و آن  
شب را لشکر الیاس خواجه بحاضر باش بگذرانیدند

ومن در آن شب ببالای کوه بعجز و نیاز  
بدرگاه تنکری تعالی مشغول بودم و صلوات بر محمد  
صلی الله علیه و آله و اصحابه و سلم میفرستادم  
و در میان خواب و بیداری آوازی بهسماع  
من رسید که شخصی میگوید که تیهور قتیج و فیروزی  
وظفر تراست چون صبح صادق طلوع کرد نیاز  
بجاعت ادا کردم

و درینوقت دیدم که الیاس خواجه با امراء  
خود سوار شده فوج فوج روان شدند و امرا و سپاه من  
در تعاقب نبودن حکم خواستند و من بخود کنکاش  
کردم که در تعاقب نبودن ایشان تاخیر باید کرد  
تا مقصد ایشان معلوم شود

چون چهار فرسنگ راه رفتند فرود آمدند  
من

AND I myself passed over the river with five thousand horsemen, and came forth on a hill, which was higher than the army of Ouleaus Khaujeh. And I commanded that in the night they should make many fires. Book I.

AND when the people of Jitteh beheld the fires, and when they saw a strong army at the head of the bridge of Sungheen, they were afraid : and the forces of Ouleaus Khaujeh passed that night in watching.

AND I in that night, on the top of that hill, was employed in humiliations and supplications to the throne of Almighty God ; and I sent forth prayers on Mahummud (may the blessing of God be upon him, and upon his descendants, and upon his companions).

AND between sleeping and waking I heard a voice, as of some one speaking to me, saying, "TIMOUR, "victory and conquest and triumph are thine." And when the morning broke, I prayed with my people.

AND I saw at this time that Ouleaus Khaujeh and his Ameers were mounted on their horses, and going troop after troop : and my Ameers and my soldiers called for orders to pursue them. And I said unto myself, I must delay to pursue them until their intentions be known.

AND after they had travelled four fursungs, they halted : and I discovered their design. Behold, their intention

من کنکاش ایشان را در یافتن که مطلب ایشان اینست  
که مرا از کوه جدا بپیدان در آورند و جنگ اندازند

وامرای هراول را که شکست داده بودم  
ایشان بالباس خواجه پناه برده بودند و وی ایشان را  
سرزنش کرده بود

درین وقت دیدند که من از کنکاش  
ایشان واقف شده ام و از کوه بیرون نمی آیم بالضرورة  
برجسته بر سر من تاخت آوردند

و من کنکاش چنین یافتن که در دامن  
کوه افواج خود را تروک سازم و بجنگ در آیم چون  
لشکر چته آمده بدامن کوه در آمدند و معطل شدند  
بهدراتها امسر نمودم که مخالفان را بشیبه تیر گرفتند  
و بسیاری از مخالفان را زخمدار ساختند و چون شب  
شد و دیدند که کاری نتوانستند ساخت بر دامن کوه  
فرو آمدند که کوه را محاصره نمایند من در آن  
شب چنین کنکاش یافتن که لشکر خود را چهار فوج  
ساخته بهرات خون بر ایشان شبخون آورم چون این  
کنکاش دل نشین امرای من شد قریب بصبح سوار  
شدم و از چهار طرف بر مخالفان شبخون آوردم  
و تا

intention was this — that they might bring me down Book I.  
from the mountain apart, and assault me.

AND the chiefs of the advanced guard, whom I had defeated, had fled unto Ouleaus Khaujeh for shelter ; and he had reproved them.

AND they saw at this time, that I had discovered their intentions ; and that I came not down from the hill : and from necessity they turned back, and came upon me.

AND I found it was good, that I should draw up my forces on the declivity of the hill, and enter into battle. And when the army of Jitteh advanced, and came up on the slope of the hill, and were unable to act, I gave orders to my warriors, that they should annoy the enemy with flights of arrows. And they wounded numbers of the foe. And as the night was come, the forces of Jitteh saw that they could effect nothing : and they encamped on the skirts of the hill, that they might surround it. And in that night I resolved thus. — that forming my army into four squadrons, I myself would assault them by surprise. And when this resolution was impressed on the hearts of my Ameers, I mounted my horse, and I assaulted the enemy in four different places unawares, toward the morning.

L

AND



وتا لشکر جته خود را جمع سازند بهادران  
 من ایشان را متفرق ساختند و در چپقولش\* که شد مردم  
 جنگی از طرفین کشته شدند و لشکر جته الفرار گفتند  
 و گریزان شدند و من خود را بالیاس خواجه رسانیده یول  
 بولش\* گفتم و چون آواز من بیسماع الیاس خواجه  
 رسید وی از روی غضب لشکر خود را نهیب داد  
 و لشکریان وی بر گشتند

وتا طلوع آفتاب میانه لشکر من و لشکر  
 وی جنگ چپقولش\* بود و ترکشها خالی شد و غنیم  
 جنگ در گریز میکردند تا آنکه در چهار فرسنگی که  
 یورت ایشان بود شکسته حال رفته نزول نمودند و من  
 هم از تعاقب ایشان عنان باز کشیدم و در هبانه سر  
 زمین فرود آمدم

چون لشکر جته خود را مغلوب و مقهور  
 دیدند دیگر بجنگ مبارزت ننمودند و من سپاه خود را  
 بز دور اردوی الیاس خواجه متفرق ساختم و محاربات  
 و محاللات مینمودم تا آنکه الیاس خواجه از روی اضطرار  
 از آب خجند گذشت و من هم تعاقب ایشان را  
 گذاشته مظفر و منصور بهاوزالنهر مراجعت نمودم

و در استقلال سلطنت خود کنکاشها کردم  
 و آن

AND before the forces of Jitteh could gather themselves together, my soldiers dispersed them; and in the skirmish many warriors of both sides were slain. And the forces of Jitteh cried out, "Let us flee;" and they fled. And I came up to Ouleaus Khaujeh and said, Yole Bolishun. † And when he heard my voice, he rallied his forces in wrath; and they returned.

AND there was skirmishing between my army and his army until the rising of the sun. And the quivers were emptied, and the enemy fought flying. And they fled even to the distance of four furlongs, where their tents were pitched; and they halted there in a broken condition. And I also drew in the reins from pursuing them, and came down ‡ in the place where I was.

WHEN the forces of Jitteh saw that they were broken and defeated, they ventured not to renew the fight. And I spread my soldiers round the camp of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and I fought with them continually: even until Ouleaus Khaujeh, from extreme necessity, crossed the waters of Khujjund. And I also left off pursuing them, and I returned victorious and triumphant to Mauwur u Nuhur.

AND I deliberated concerning the establishment of my power; and my deliberations were these —

† A Mogul expression of salutation, the precise meaning of which is not known.

‡ i. e. encamped on the spot where he had arrived.

و آن کنکاشها این بود که امرای که هریک خود را  
 امیر عظیم الشان میدانستند و هریک خود را از دیگری  
 بزرگتر میکردند مطیع و منقاد خود گردانم اول  
 امیر حسین نبیره امیر قرغن که در ماورالنهر علم  
 سلطنت برافراخته بود ویرا شریک دولت خود خواندم  
 و بوی مدارا کردم و وی اگرچه ظاهر بین اظهار دوستی  
 میکرد اما همیشه در مقام نفاق و حسد با من می بود  
 و میخواست که خود بر تخت سلطنت  
 ماورالنهر متمکن شود و چون بوی اعتماد نداشتیم ویرا  
 بهزار خواجه شخص الدین برده بر دوستی خود قسم  
 دادیم و بپن عهد و قول کرد که خلاف دوستی نکند  
 و سه مرتبه دیگر قسم بمصحن مجید در  
 باب دوستی من خورد و چون آخر نقض عهد کرد  
 نقض عهد ویرا بپن گرفتار ساخت

و شیخ محمد پسر امیر بیان سلسوز خود را  
 امیر گلانی میدانست و ویرا استیالت دادیم و با هفت  
 قشون ایل و مطیع خود گردانیدیم و ملازم خود ساختم  
 و هریک از امرای قشونات مذکور ولایتی ارزانی داشتیم  
 و شیر

that I should render the Ameer obedient and submissive Book I.  
 unto me. For each of them thought himself a chief of  
 exalted dignity; and each of them deemed himself greater  
 than the rest. And first, I named Ameer Hooßein (the  
 grandson of Ameer Kurghun) who had exalted the stand-  
 ard of power in Mauwur u Nuhur, the partner of my  
 fortune; and I treated him with attention. And although  
 he outwardly shewed friendship toward me, yet did he  
 always envy and oppose me.

AND he wanted that he himself should be  
 established on the royal throne of Mauwur u Nuhur. And  
 I had no faith in him, and I carried him to the sepulchre  
 of Khaujeh Shums u deen, and made him swear friend-  
 ship unto me. And he promised and swore that he would  
 not swerve from his engagement.

AND concerning his friendship with me,  
 he took an oath three times on the holy book. And when  
 at last he broke his oaths, his breach of faith delivered  
 him into my hands.

AND Sheikh Mahummud, the son of A-  
 meer Biaun Suldoze, thought himself a mighty chief.  
 And I gained his affections by soothings; and I brought  
 him with seven-Kushoons to submit unto me, and I made  
 him my servant. And to each of the Ameer of those  
 Kushoons I gave the command of a province.

AND

و شیر بهرام که جدا شده بالوس خود  
 رفته بود و در مقام تهر می بود و برا استیالت داده  
 طلب نمود و وی بالوس خود آمده اطاعت مرا قبول  
 کرد و ملازم خود ساخته ولایتی بوی ارزانی داشتم  
 و چون میانه من و امیر حسین خویشی  
 بود من هر چند مروت و مدارا کردم دوست من نشد  
 تا آنکه ولایت بلخ و حصار شادمان را از من گرفت  
 و من هم بخاطر همشیره وی که در خانه من بود  
 مضایقه نکردم و چندان بوی مدارا کردم که امرای  
 که با من در مقام مخالفت بودند مطیع من گشتند  
 لیکن امیر حسین همیشه در مقام شکست من و مکر  
 و فریب با من می بود تا آنکه کنکاش کار وی چنین  
 کردم که بضرب شمشیر و برا مطیع فرمایم

و چون بر ولایت توران مستولی گشتم  
 و ولایت ماورالنهر از خس و خاشاک وجود اوزبکان پاک  
 ساختم بعضی از امرای اولوسات سر باطاعت من فروز  
 نیآوردند و هر یک با قبایل خود نازش میکردند و بعضی  
 از امرای من سفارش ایشان میکردند که چون همه  
 شریک دولت اند ایشانرا نیز شریک دولت باید دانست  
 لیکن سخنان ایشان در غیرت سلطنت اثر نمی کرد  
 بخود

AND Share Behraum, who had separated Book I.  
from me and returned to his tribe, and remained in a  
state of disobedience; to him I gave encouragement, and  
called him unto me. And he came with his tribe, and  
submitted to my authority. And I made him my servant,  
and I conferred a province upon him.

AND there was relationship between me  
and Ameer Hooßein: and although I treated him with  
affection and with kindness, he was not my friend; and  
he even took from me the country of Bullukh and the  
castle of Shaudumaun. And I also, for the sake of his  
sister who was in my house, regarded it not. And I shewed  
such kindness unto him, that the Ameers who were in a  
state of enmity with me, submitted to my authority. But  
Ameer Hooßein still acted towards me with treachery and  
fraud, and sought to overthrow me: even until I resolved  
that I would force him to submission by the edge of the  
sword.

AND when I became the lord of the land  
of Tooraun, and had made clean the kingdom of Mau-  
wur u Nuhur from the abominations† of the Ouzbuds;  
certain of the Ameers of Auloofaut submitted not to my  
government. And they, with their tribes, dissembled  
with me. And certain of my Ameers spoke in their be-  
half, saying, "Since we are all partners of the same for-  
"tune, they must be considered as the partners of thy for-  
"tune also." But their words made no impression upon  
me.

† Literally, the weeds and the briars.

AND

بخود گنکاش کردم که چون خدا  
 یک است ولا شریک له است پس کدخدای ملک  
 وی تعالی و تقدس هم باید که یکی باشد  
 درین وقت بابا علی شاه نزد من آمده  
 گفت تیهور تنکری تعالی فرموده که اگر در زمین  
 و آسمان دو خدا باشد کار عالم بفساد انجامد و من  
 بسخن وی هدایت یافتم

و بقران مجید فال کشادم این آیه  
 کریمه بفال آمد که انا جعلناک خلیفه فی الارض  
 و این فال را شکون \* کرتم و در مطیع ساختن امرای  
 که خود را شریک دولت و سلطنت میدانستند  
 گنکاشها کردم

و اول بهنزل ویورت امیر حاجی برلاس  
 رفته و برا بخود متفق ساختم  
 و امیر شیخ مجید پسر بیان سلطوز  
 چون همیشه بشراب و خمر مشغول بود آخر شراب  
 و برا کلو گیر ساخت و عالم را و دایع نمود ولایت او را  
 بتصرف در آوردم.

و امیر

AND I deliberated with myself, saying, Book I.  
Since God is one and hath no partner, therefore the vicegerent over the land of the Lord (the Almighty and the Holy) must be one only.

AND at this time Baubau Aali Shaah † came before me and said, "T I M O U R, God Almighty hath declared, that if there were two Gods in the heavens and in the earth, the order of the universe would end in horror and confusion." And I took warning by his words.

AND I opened the holy book for an omen, and this sacred verse came forth as a sign, "TRULY WE HAVE APPOINTED THREE VICEGERENT UPON EARTH." And I took this omen as a favour from heaven; and I formed measures for reducing to submission those Ameers who thought themselves the partners of my fortune and dominion:

AND I first went to the station, and to the dwelling, of Ameer Haujee Burlaus, and I united him with me.

AND Ameer Sheikh Mahummud, the son of Biaun Suldoze, was always drinking wine and strong spirits; and in the end the wine destroyed him, and he departed from the world, and I took possession of his lands.

† One of those Dervishes who professed idiotism. The East is full of this kind of Santons, who are held in great veneration by the Mahummudans.



وامیر بایزید جالیر که ولایت خجند را  
 متصرف بود بوی نصیحت کردم اما دروی اثر نکرد تا  
 آنکه مردم الوس وی بروی خروج کرده و گرفتار ساخته  
 نزد من آوردند و من ویرا بنواختم و شرمندہ ساختم  
 وایلچی بوغا سلدوز در بلخ علم سلطنت  
 برافراخته بود و امیر حسین که طلب تختگاه جد  
 خود را امیر قرغون مینمود بوی در انداختم  
 و محمد خواجه ایردی که از اویهاق  
 تالین بسود ولایت شیرغانات را متصرف شده علم  
 مخالفت من برافراخته بود و دیگر ولایت بوی دالم  
 ووی را توکر خود ساختم  
 و شہان بدخشان کہ ولایت بدخشانات را  
 متصرف شدہ رایت مخالفت من برافراخته بودند با  
 ہریک از ایشان سازکاری کردم تا بیکدیگر در  
 اقتالند و بہن رجوع آوردند  
 و کی خسرو و الجایتو بر دی ولایت  
 ختلان و ارہنسک را متصرف شدہ بودند و بہ کی  
 خسرو مدد فرستادم تا رفتہ ولایت الجایتو بر دی را  
 متصرف شد و الجایتو بہن پناہ آورد

† i. e. By the extraordinary favours, which he conferred upon him, he made him ashamed of his former conduct.

AND to Ameer Bauezeed Jullaur, who Book I.  
 was ruler over the province of Khojjund, I gave advice :  
 but it made not an impresson upon him, until the people  
 of his tribe rose up against him, and seized him, and  
 brought him unto me. And I exalted him and caused  
 him to blush. †

AND to Ameer Ilehee Beoghau Suldoze,  
 who had exalted the standard of power in the city of  
 Bullukh, I opposed Ameer Hooßein ; who laid claim to  
 the imperial city ‡ of his grandfather, Ameer Kurghun.

AND Mahummud Khaujeh Erudee ( who  
 was of the hord of Taucmun ) having seized on the coun-  
 try of Shereghaunaut, had exalted the standard of enmity  
 against me : and I gave him another province, and made  
 him my servant.

AND the princes of Buddukhsaun, who  
 ruled over the countries of Buddukhsaun, had elevated  
 the ensigns of hostility against me. And I dealt artfully  
 with each of them, || until they disputed among them-  
 selves, and returned back unto me.

AND Ki Khiffero, and Aljauitoo Burdi had  
 seized on the countries of Khuttulaun, and Arhung. And  
 I sent assistance to Ki Khiffero, until he went and took  
 possession of the lands of Aljauitoo Burdi : and Aljauitoo  
 Burdi came to me for shelter.

† i. e. The city of Bullukh.

|| i. e. Sowed animosities among them, and by that means obliged them  
 to submit.

وامیر خضر یسوری ولایت تاشکنت را  
 باتفاق احشام یسوری متصرف شده بود و الجایتو بر دی  
 وگی خسرو را بیکدیگر آشتی دادم و جماعه را همراه  
 ایشان کردم تا رفته احشام یسوری را تاخت و تالان  
 کردند و امیر خضر عاجز شده پناه بین آورد

چون ولایت ماورالنهر را از هرج و مرج پاک  
 ساختم افواج قاهره من قوت تمام یافت والوس برلاس  
 نامدار شد و قشونات و تومنات چغتای از همت  
 من بلند آوازه گردید

ویر جمیع ایل و قشونات و تومنات  
 و احشام فرمان فرما گشتم لیکن بعضی قلعه‌ها  
 ماورالنهر در تصرف امیر حسین بود حکم من در  
 آنجا جاری نبود

وامیر حسین چون عظمت و شوکت مرا  
 مشاهده نمود عرق حسدش حرکت در آمد و علم  
 مخالفت پراخت و نقض عهد نمود من بجانب وی  
 بسیار رفتم و او هیچ بطرف من نیامد و بلطایفی  
 الحیل قلعه قرشی را از من گرفت و امیر موسی را  
 با هفت هزار سوار بقلعه قرشی تغسین  
 کرد

AND Ameer Khizzur Yessoor, assisted by Book I. the tribe of Yessoor, had taken possession of the province of Tauschkund. And I reconciled Aljautoo Burdi and Ki Khissero to each other, and sent forces with them; until they went, and over-run, and pillaged the tribe of Yessoor. And the power of Ameer Khizzur was reduced low, and he fled to me for protection.

AND when I had cleared the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur from discord and anarchy, my armies acquired great strength; and the tribe of Burlaus obtained renown; and the Kushoonaut and the Toumaunaut of Chughtauee became celebrated on account of my exploits.

AND I became the ruler of all the tribes, and of the Kushoonaut, and of the Toumaunaut, and of the people. But certain castles of Mauwur u Nuhur were in the possession of Ameer Hoosseïn; and in them my authority was not established.

AND when Ameer Hoosseïn beheld my might and my power, his envy was excited against me. And he exalted the standard of hostility, and he broke his oaths. And I advanced a great way toward him, and he came not at all toward me. † And he took from me the castle of Kurfhee by fraud. And he appointed Ameer Moofi, with seven thousand horsemen, to guard the castle

† i. e. Endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation, to which Ameer Hoosseïn continued adverse.

کرد و پنج هزار سوار دیگر هم فرستاد و در مقام  
استیصال من در آمد

و ازین جهت غیرت سلطنت من طغیان  
کرد که قلعه قرشی را از وی بکیرم بعضی امرای  
من کنکاش دادند که رفته بجنگ قلعه را مسخر  
کردانم من کنکاش گرفتن قلعه قرشی را  
چنین کردم که اگر خواهم که بجنگ مسخر  
کردانم مبادا چشم زخمی بلشکر من برسد و در جنگ  
چند خطر بخاطر من خطور کرد جنگ را طرح کردم  
و کنکاش درین دیدم که بجانب خراسان  
متوجه شوم تا خاطر قلعه داران جمع شود و آنسگاه  
برکشته ایلغار کنم و شبخون بقلعه برده مسخر کردانم  
و کوچ نموده متوجه خراسان شدم

چون از آب امویه عبور نمودم کاروانی  
از جانب خراسان آمده بود و متوجه قرشی میرفت  
و قافله سالار آن کاروان ارمغانی بهین آورد من از احوال  
امرای خراسان از وی پرسش کردم و رفتن خود را  
بولايت خراسان بوی اظهار نمودم و ایشانرا بخصت دادم  
و جاسوسی همراه کاروانیان کردم  
و خود در کنار آب مقام نمودم تا آنکه  
جاسوس

of Kurfhee : and he afterwards sent five thousand horsemen more. And he took measures for my destruction. Book I.

AND on this account the honour of my station urged me on, that I should take from him the castle of Kurfhee. And certain of my Ameers counselled me, that I should go and seize it by force. But concerning the reduction of the castle of Kurfhee I deliberated thus — If I attempt to reduce it by a siege, perhaps my forces may be repulsed. And in a siege several dangers occurred to my mind ; and I rejected that measure.

AND I saw it was good that I should turn my face toward Khorausaun, until the hearts of the keepers of the castle should be at rest ; and that then I should return and march with speed, and assault the castle by surprise, and reduce it. And I marched, and went toward Khorausaun.

WHEN I crossed the waters of Amuveah, a Kauruvvaun arrived from Khorausaun ; and they were journeying toward Kurfhee. And the leader of that Kauruvvaun brought gifts unto me, and I asked of him the state of the Ameers of Khorausaun. And I told him that I was travelling to the kingdom of Khorausaun ; and I dismissed him.

AND I sent a spy with the people of the Kauruvvaun, and I tarried on the border of the waters of Amuveah

جاسوس خبر آورد که کاروانیان خبر بامیر موسی  
 رسانیدند که امیر تیپور را در کنار آب امویه دیدیم  
 که بطرف خراسان میرفت

چون این خبر بامیر موسی و لشکر امیر  
 حسین رسید خوشدل شدند و رحل اقامت انداخته  
 بساط عیش و عشرت بکسترانیدند

چون این خبر بهسامع من رسید از  
 لشکر خود دو صد و چهل و سه جوان بهادر مردانه کار  
 کرده آزموده را جدا ساختم و از آب گذشته ایلغار  
 کردم و در موضع شیرکنت رسیدم و یک شب و یک روز  
 مقام کردم و از آنجا ایلغار کرده در یک فرسنگی قلعه  
 قرشی نزول نمودم

و فرمودم که چند نردبان برپسپهانها باهم  
 بسته طیار سازند درین وقت امیر جاکو زانو زده بعرض  
 رسانید که جماعه از بهادران در عقب مانده اند  
 تا رسیدن ایشان توقف ضرور است درین وقت بخاطرم  
 رسید که تا رسیدن بهادران خود تنها رفته قلعه را  
 ملاحظه نمایم

و چهل سوار بهادر را همراه گرفته رو  
 بطرف قلعه قرشی آوردم چون سیاهی حصار بنظر  
 در

Amuveah until the spy brought word, that the people of Book I.  
the Kauruvvaun had given intelligence to Ameer Moofi,  
saying; "We saw Ameer Timour on the border of the  
"waters of Amuveah; and he was going toward Kho-  
"raufaun."

AND when Ameer Moofi and the forces of  
Ameer Hooffein heard this news, they were glad of  
heart; and they pitched their tents, and spread abroad  
the carpet of riot and dissipation.

AND when I received intelligence thereof,  
I selected two hundred and forty three brave, and resolute,  
and tried, and experienced warriors from among my for-  
ces; and I re-crossed the waters of Amuveah. And I  
marched quick, and I arrived at Sharekund. And I halted  
for one night and for one day. And I marched from  
thence with great speed; and I alighted at the distance of  
a furlong from the castle of Kurfhee.

AND I commanded that they should make  
ready ladders, and bind them together with ropes. And  
at this time Ameer Yaukoo kneeled before me, and said,  
"Many of our warriors have remained behind: until they  
"shall arrive, delay is necessary." And at this time it  
came into my mind that I would go alone and examine  
the castle.

AND I took forty warriors with me, and  
I turned my face toward the castle of Kurfhee. And when  
the blackness of the castle appeared in sight, I commanded

N

my



در آمد بهادران را امر نمودم که توقف نمایند  
و مبشر و عبد الله که خانه زان بچکان من بودند همراه  
گرفته و چون بکنار خندق رسیدم دیدم که خندق  
پیر از آب است و نظر بر اطراف کردم و ترناوی که آب از  
آن بقلعه میرفت و بر روی خندق انداخته بودند بنظم  
در آمد

واسپ را به مبشر سپرده و از بالا ترناو از  
خندق گذشته بخاک ریز قلعه رسیدم و خود را بدروازه  
رسانیدم و دستی بر در زدم و یافتم که دروازه‌بانان در  
خوابند

و دروازه را بیشت در بخاک و کل انباشته  
اند و اطرای دیوار قلعه را ملاحظه نمودم و جای که  
زینه و نردبان توان گذاشت دیدم و مراجعت نمودم  
و سوار شده خود را به بهادران رسانیدم

و فوجی که در عقب مانده بود با نردبانها  
رسیدند و هر یکی مسلح شده و نردبانها را برداشتند و رو  
بقلعه آوردند و از خندق بر روی ترناو گذشتند و زینه‌ها  
گذاشته بدیوار قلعه بر آمدند چون چهل مرد  
مردانه داخل قلعه شدند من هم قدم بر نردبان  
گذاشته بقلعه در آمدم و کرنا و برغو کشیدند و بتوفیق  
تنگری تعالی قلعه را مسخر گردانیدم

چون این خبر به سامع امیر حسین  
رسید در مقام مکر و فریب در آمد و میخواست که در  
لباس اشنای و دوستی مرا در قید خود را آورد  
کنکاش

my warriors to halt. And I took with me Mubbusfur Book I.  
 and Abdullah, who had been born in my house. And  
 when I came to the border of the ditch, I saw that the  
 ditch was full of water. And I looked round about, and  
 I beheld a waterpipe; † and water ran through that pipe  
 to the castle, and they had laid it across the ditch.

AND I delivered my horse to Mubbusfur,  
 and I crossed the ditch on that pipe, and I came to the  
 foot of the wall. And I went on to the portal, and  
 struck on the door with my hand; and I discovered that  
 the guards of the portal were asleep.

AND they had filled up the portal behind  
 the door with clay and with earth. And I looked round  
 the walls of the castle, and saw the place where the steps  
 of the ladders could be fixed. And I returned, and I  
 mounted my horse, and went back to my warriors.

AND the troops who had remained behind  
 came with the ladders, and they were all armed; and they  
 took up the ladders, and I turned my face toward the  
 castle. And they crossed the ditch on the pipe; and having  
 fixed their ladders, they entered on the walls of the castle.  
 And when forty resolute men had entered the castle, I  
 also placed my foot on the ladder, and went in unto them.  
 And they sounded their trumpets; and by the favour of  
 Almighty God I obtained possession of the castle.

AND when this news reached the ears of  
 Ameer Hoossein, he entered into the road of deceit and  
 dissimulation; and, under the cloak of friendship and inti-  
 macy, he sought to bring me into his power.

† A trunk of a tree hollowed into a pipe.

کنکاش خلاص خود از مکر و خدعه امیر  
 حسین که میخواست مرا دستگیر سازد چنین کردم  
 که چون امیر حسین مصحفی که بان  
 قسم خورده بود که مرا بجز دوستی و مراعات خویشی  
 چیزی دیگر بخاطر نیست نزد من فرستاد و گفته  
 فرستاد که اگر خلاف آنچه میگویم امری دیگر بخاطرم  
 باشد و اگر نقض عهد نموده ترا بدی بکنم این  
 مصحفی خدا مرا بگیرد و چون ویرا مسلمان میدانستم  
 بر قول وی اعتماد کردم تا آنکه کس نزد من فرستاد  
 و پیغام داد که اگر چنان شود که در تلک چکچک  
 با یکدیگر ملاقات نهاییم و تجدید عهد سابق کنیم  
 حقا که بهتر خواهد بود

و مقصودش این بود که بهکر و فریب مرا  
 دستگیر نماید و من میدانستم که بر عهد و قول وی  
 چندان اعتبای نیست اما بنابر تعظیم مصحفی قرار  
 دارم که بیلاقات وی نهضت نهاییم و کنکاش کردم  
 که اول جمعی از بهادران مردانه را فرستاده در حوالی  
 و حواشی دره چکچک پنهان سازم و خود با جمعی  
 رفته با امیر حسین ملاقات نهاییم

و بدوستان خود که در خدمت امیر حسین  
 بودند

THUS I acted for my deliverance from the treachery and perfidy of Ameer Hoossein, who sought to make me his prisoner. Book I.

WHEN Ameer Hoossein sent unto me a KORAUN, by which he had taken an oath that nought was in his heart but friendship and brotherly affection towards me ; and sent a message unto me, saying, “ If there be ought in my heart contrary to that which I say ; and if I break my oath, and do evil unto thee, may this book of God seize upon me ; ” — seeing that I thought him a true believer, I put confidence in his words : even until he sent a person unto me, and a message, saying, “ If it may be so that we may see each other in the pass of Chukchuk, and renew our antient faith, truly it will be better.”

AND this was his design, that by perfidy and treachery he might seize upon me. And although I knew that much faith was not to be placed on his word, or on his oath ; yet, out of respect to the holy KORAUN, I resolved that I would go to meet him. But I determined that I would first send a number of my resolute warriors, and secrete them round about the pass of Chukchuk, and that I myself would go with another body of my people and see Ameer Hoossein.

AND I sent advice to my friends, who were the followers of Ameer Hoossein, that they should inform

بودند پیغام دادم که از اراده امیر حسین مرا آگاه  
گردانند و شیر بهرام که از دوستان من بود مرا بر اراده  
امیر حسین آگاه ساخت و امیر حسین او را بقتل آورد  
و با هزار سوار بر سر من روان شد

در آن وقت من در سر دره فرو آمده  
بودم که این خبر بمن رسید و تروک فوج خود کردم  
و درین حال طلایه لشکر امیر حسین نهودار شد  
و قراولان خبر آوردند که فوج امیر حسین است  
و اینک امیر حسین خود نمی آید چون شنیده که  
امیر تنها آمده است فوج بگرفتن شبا تعیین نهوده

و من مستعد شدم و همگی با من دو صد  
سوار بودند و صبر کردم تا آنکه فوج امیر حسین بدره  
در آمد و بهر دمی که پیش از خود فرستاده بودم امر  
کردم که راه برگشتن ایشانرا بگیرند و من خود  
بایشان رو برو شدم و مخالفانرا در آن دره در میان  
گرفتم و اکثر را دستگیر کردم و مردم خود را جمع  
ساخته و تروک نهوده روانه قرشی شدم و بتجربه من  
رسید که دوست در همه جا بکار می آید

و با امیر حسین مضمون این بیت بترکی

نوشتم

صبا

inform me of his designs. And Share Behraum, who was Book I.  
of my friends, informed me of the designs of Ameer  
Hooſſein. And Ameer Hooſſein ſlew him; and ſet out  
with a thouſand horſemen to come upon me.

AND at that time I had pitched my tents  
at the entrance of the paſs, and this news came unto me.  
And I ordered my forces: and, behold, the vanguard of  
Ameer Hooſſein appeared in fight. And my Kurrauvu-  
laun brought word, ſaying, “It is the army of Ameer  
“Hooſſein; and, lo! Ameer Hooſſein himſelf cometh  
“not with them: for he hath heard that Ameer † is come  
“alone, and he hath ſent an army to ſeize thee.”

AND, behold, I was prepared; and two  
hundred horſemen were all that were with me. And I  
waited until the forces of Ameer Hooſſein had entered the  
paſs: and I ſent a meſſenger to the people whom I had  
ſent before me, and I commanded them to ſeize the way  
of their retreat. And I myſelf oppoſed them face to face.  
And I encloſed my enemies in that paſs, and I took many  
prisoners. And I gathered my people together, and I  
ordered them, and ſet out towards Kurſhee. And by ex-  
perience it was known unto me, that a friend in all places  
cometh to uſe. ‡

AND I wrote to Ameer Hooſſein the ſenſe  
of this verſe, in the Toorki || language;

† i. e. Timour.

‡ Alluding to the intelligence which he had received from Share Behraum.

|| i. e. the Mogul.

صبا بکوي بان يار دام مکر نهنده  
که مکر باز نکردد مکر بیکر کننده

چون پیغام من بامیر حسین رسید خجل و منفعل  
شد و عذر خواست و من دیگر بروی اعتقاد نکردم  
و بسخنان وی فریفته نشدم

کنکاش در پاک ساختن توران زمین  
از بقیه السینی طایفه اوزبک چنین کردم  
که چون لشکر جته والیاس خواجه را  
از ماورالنهر بر آوردم و از آب خجند گذرانیدم بعضی  
افواج اوزبکان در قلعه‌های ماورالنهر مستحکم بودند  
و چون خواستم که افواج بر ایشان تعیین کنم و بخاطر  
خطر کرد که مبادا کار بدور و دراز بکشد

در آن وقت خبر بمن رسید که اوزبکان  
در قلعه‌ها قایم شده اند و صلاح در آن ندیدم که افواج  
خود را بر ایشان تعیین نمایم و یرلیغی از جانب الیاس  
خواجه نوشتم و به اوزبکی دادم و فوجی همراه وی کردم  
و امر نمودم که خود را نمودار سازند و کرد و غبار برانگیرند  
و چون یرلیغ طلب الیاس خواجه بایشان  
رسید

"Say, O Zephyr, to that friend, the layer of the snares Book I.  
"of treachery,

"Doth not the treachery return back to the doer of  
"treachery?"

And when Ameer Hooffein received my message, he was  
ashamed and confounded; and he made excuses. And  
I had faith in him no more, and I was no more deceived  
by his words.

IN making clean the land of Tooraun from  
those of the tribe of Ouzbuk who had escaped the sword,  
thus I acted.

WHEN I drove forth from Mauwur u  
Nuhur the armies of Jitteh, and of Ouleaus Khaujeh, and  
forced them to cross the waters of Khujjund, certain of  
the troops of Ouzbuk were enclosed in the castles of Mau-  
wur u Nuhur; and when I sought to send forces upon  
them, it came into my mind that perhaps the war might  
be tedious and of long duration.

AND at that time news came unto me,  
that the Ouzbuks continued in the castles; and I saw it  
was not good that I should send my armies against them.

And I wrote a summons, as if from Ouleaus Khaujeh,  
and I gave it to an Ouzbuk, and I sent forces along with  
him. And I commanded them to shew themselves, and  
to raise a great dust.

AND when the Ouzbuks received the  
summons of Ouleaus Khaujeh, calling them unto him,

O

and



رسید و کرد و غبار افواج را دیدند شب بشب قلعه‌ها را  
 خالی ساخته بدر رفتند و ساجت ملورالنهر از وجود  
 آن طالبان که قصد کشتن من کرده بودند پاک  
 شد و آن مملکت مسخر من گشت

و من صلوة رحم نگاهداشته ولایت بلخ  
 و حصار شانرا بامیر حسین ارزانی داشتم و وی قدر  
 احسان و مروت مرا ندانست و قصد استیصال من کرد  
 و من کنکاش در استیصال امیر حسین چنین کردم  
 که چون وی آثار فتح و نصرت مرا دید  
 عرق جسدش بجزکت درآمد و ازارها بین و همشیره اش  
 که در خانه من بود رسانید و قصد کرد که ملورالنهر از  
 من بگیرد و بکشتن من کمر بست و بارها بهصاف  
 من برآمد و هر مرتبه شکست یافت

چون بی اعتدالی و بی انصافی وی  
 محمد افراط رسید و نزدیک شد که بر من غالب آید  
 و مرا مستیصل گرداند در آن وقت امرای وی از بد  
 ستلوکی که بایشان میکرد از وی برگشتند و برادر امیر  
 کی خسرو حاکم ختلان را همچو بی قتل آورد و امیر  
 کی خسرو در ختلان باغی شد  
 چون امرای وی در مقام نفاق بودند و وی  
 ایشانرا

and saw the dust raised by my people; they quitted the castles, night after night, and fled. And the land of Mauwur u Nuhur was delivered from those oppressors who had sought to slay me: and that kingdom submitted to my government. Book I.

AND I regarded the ties of kindred, and gave to Ameer Hoosein the country of Bullukh and the castle of Shaudumaun. And he perceived not the degree of my kindness and regard; and he sought to destroy me. And in reducing Ameer Hoosein thus I determined.

WHEN he saw the signs of my victories and conquests, his envy was excited; and he molested me, and he molested his sister who was in my house; and he sought to take Mauwur u Nuhur from me. And he girded up his loins to slay me. And he came forth many times to fight with me: and he was defeated every time.

WHEN his iniquity and injustice had reached the limits of excess, and it was near that he should become conqueror over me, and expel me; in those days his Ameers, because of the evils which he had done unto them, turned back from him. And he slew Humpochee, the brother of Ameer Ki Khiffero, the ruler of Khuttulaun. And Ameer Ki Khiffero rebelled in Khuttulaun.

AND his Ameers were in a state of enmity; and he thought that they were his friends. And he brought

ایشانرا از اهل وفاق میدانست و بقصد دفع و رفع من از  
خطه بلخ پیشخانه بیرون کشید و این خبر بین آوردند  
وقابوی خود را درین دیدم که تا امیر حسین بحرکت  
در آید خود را بر سر وی برسانم

و یا جماعه که حاضر بودند متوجه بلخ  
شدم و در راه افواج قاهره از اطراف وجوانب آمده جمع  
شدند و بحوالی خطه بلخ رسیده نزول نمودم و امیر  
حسین بیدافعه و مقاتله بر آمد و صرفه نبرد و قلعه در  
آمده متحصن شد و آمد بر سرش آنچه آمد

در باب ایل ساختن آنها که با من بدیها  
کرده از من متوهم بودند و نظر بر بدیهای خود نهوده در  
خاطر داشتند که من آنها را خواهم کشت چنین کنکاش  
کردم

که چون امیر حسین بدست من گرفتار  
شد نوکران و امرای وی بر من کمان کردند که ایشانرا  
خواهم کشت اگرچه من در مقام کشتن ایشان بودم  
اما چون سپاهی بودند کنکاش درین دیدم که ایشانرا  
مستبال ساخته یکارهای سپاهکری تعیین نمایم

† He was obliged to deliver up the castle to Timour, from whom he received a promise of personal safety; but was slain nevertheless some days after by certain of that prince's officers whom he had formerly injured. Vid. *Histoire de Timur-Bec*, Tom. I. p. 191.

brought forth his tents from the land of Bullukh, with a resolution to drive me out and destroy me. And they brought unto me this news, and I saw my advantage in this, that even before Ameer Hooffein could put himself in motion, I should go down upon him. Book I.

AND I turned toward Bullukh, with the people that were with me : and my victorious forces came from all parts, and from all sides, and were gathered together. And having arrived on the borders of the land of Bullukh, I pitched my tents. And Ameer Hooffein came forth to fight with, and expel, me ; and it availed him not. And he entered into the castle, and was enclosed therein. And that befel him which did befall him. †

CONCERNING those who had done evil unto me, and who, reflecting on their evil doings, thought in their hearts that I should slay them, thus I acted.

WHEN Ameer Hooffein fell into my hands, and his Servants and his Ameers were suspicious of me, that I would slay them ; although I had determined to put them to death, yet, as they were warriors, I saw it was good that I should dispel their fears, and employ them in war. ‡

† The principal Ameers of Bullukh having revolted from Timour, and submitted to their former prince Sooltaun Ahmud Iullaur.

وامیر الامراء وی که در بدخشانان حاکم  
بود و بارها بمن رو برو شده و شمشیرها زده بود و چون  
شنید که امیر حسین بقتل رسید از سیاست من  
ترسید و خود را جمع ساخت و اگر من لشکر بگرفتن  
وی تعیین میکردم لایق نمی بود

و در کار وی تخافل کردم و گنگناش  
درین دیدم که در مجالس و محافل زگر خیر و تعریف  
شجاعت و مردانگی وی کردم تا آنکه بوستان وی  
بوی نوشتند که امیر با تو در مقام مرحبت و عنایت  
است و وی بمن عرضه داشت کرده تکیه بر عنایت  
و مروت من نبود و پناه بمن آورد

کنکاشی که در تسخیر دارالبلک خراسان  
کردم این بود که چون ولایت بلخ و حصار شادمان  
و بدخشانان مسخر من شد و امیر حسین مقتول  
گردید خبر آن ببلک غیاث الدین حاکم خراسان  
رسید و بر خود بلرزید و در مقام جمیعت سپاه و لشکر  
در آمد و میخواست که خود را استحکام دهد

گنگناش خود را درین دیدم که اهل  
خراسان را در خواب غفلت اندازم و ازین جهت عنان  
عزیمت

AND the Ameer ul Omurau of Ameer Book I.

Hooßein was the governor of Buddukhshann; and he had met me face to face many times, and had fought against me. And when he heard that Ameer Hooßein was slain, he feared my justice, and he collected himself together. And if I had appointed an army to seize him, it would not have been proper.

AND I signed negligence toward him; and I saw it was good that I should speak well of his conduct, and praise his courage and his magnanimity in the assemblies, and among the people: until his friends wrote unto him, saying, "Ameer Timour is inclined to show favour and mercy unto thee." And he supplicated me submissively, and he rested on my clemency and favour; and he came to me for protection.

THE DESIGN which I formed for subduing the capital city of Khorasann, was this. When the kingdom of Bullukh, and the castle of Shaudumaun, and the countries of Buddukhshann were subdued, and when Ameer Hooßein was slain; the news thereof came to Mullik Gheaus u deen the ruler of Khorasann, and he trembled for himself. And he began to gather together his soldiers and his army; and he sought to secure himself.

AND I saw my success in this, that I should throw the people of Khorasann into the sleep of negligence: and for this reason I turned back the reins of

عزیت بطرف سهرقند معطوف داشتیم و بعد از آن نامه پیر من بمن رسید که ملک غیاث الدین بظلم و جور مشغول است

و چون از خبر مراجعت من بطرف سهرقند ملک غیاث الدین بخاطر جمع نشسته بود کنکاش کردم که الحال خاطر خراسانیان از طرف من جمع گشت باید که بر ایشان ترکناز آورم و از حوالی بلخ برگشته با لشکری که در بلخ گذاشته بودم ایلغار کردم و خود را بهرات رسانیده ملک غیاث الدین را در خواب غفلت گرفتم و وی ناچار از شهر هرات بر آمد و خزاین و دفاین و مملکت خود را بمن پیشکش کرد و ملک خراسان مسخر من گردید و امرای خراسان همگی اطاعت من کردند

و کنکاش دیگر که در تسخیر ممالک سیستان و قندهار و افغانستان کردم اینست که چون مملکت خراسان بتسخیر در آمد امرای من کنکاش گفتند که افواج به تسخیر این سه ملک تعیین باید کرد من گفتم که اگر با افواج کار میسر نشود ناچار مرا عنان عزیت بدان صوب معطوف باید

of my intention toward Summurkund. And after that a letter from my PEER came unto me, saying ; “ Mullik Gheaus u deen is employed in tyranny and oppression.” Book I.

AND when, from the news of my return toward Summurkund, Mullik Gheaus u deen had sat down quiet and secure, I resolved thus — “ Now the hearts of the people of Khorausaun are no longer afraid of me, “ I must fall upon them.”

AND I turned back from the neighbourhood of Bullukh ; and with the army which I had left in Bullukh, I marched with speed : and, coming to Hurraut, I took Mullik Gheaus u deen in the sleep of security. And he was helpless, and he came forth from the city of Hurraut, and he presented unto me his treasures, and his wealth, and his kingdom. And the kingdom of Khorausaun was subdued ; and the Ameers of Khorausaun, every one of them, submitted unto me.

THE DESIGNS which I formed for conquering the countries of Seistaun, and Kundahaur, and the land of the Afghauns, were these. When the kingdom of Khorausaun was reduced to obedience, my Ameers counselled me, saying, “ Thou must send armies “ to subdue these three countries.” I answered them, saying, If the matter be not brought to pass by the armies, without remedy, I myself must turn the reins of

P

my



باید داشت و اینک مرا کار بسیاری در پیش است  
کنکاش درین دیدم که یرلیغهای استیالت  
به حکام آن دیار بنویسم با این مضمون که اگر بهین  
در آید بر آید و اگر در اقتید بر اقتید و آنچه بینید  
و تدبیر موافق تقدیر بود و بسجود رسیدن یرلیغها ایشان  
سر اطاعت بر جاره فرمان برداری نهادند

کنکاشی که در استیصال اروس خان  
و تسخیر دشت قیچاق کردم این بود که چون  
تغتمش بداخان از اروس خان شکست یافته پناه بهین  
آورد بخود کنکاش کردم که بهراهی تغتمش  
بداخان فوج بفرستم یا خود بروم

درینوقت ایلچی اروس خان رسید  
کنکاش را چنین یافتم که ایلچی ویرا تسلی نمایم  
ورخصت دهم و راه دشت را ببرندم و متعاقب ایلچی  
لشکری تعیین کنم که در روزی که ایلچی  
بخطاطر جمع بهجلس اروس خان در آید و وی  
غافل شود روز دیگر افواج من بر سر وی  
ترکتاز آورد

چون

my intention that way : and, behold, I have very much Book I.  
business before me.

AND I saw it was good, that I should write mandates of encouragement to the rulers of those countries, to this purport — “If ye come in unto me, “come ; and if ye refuse, refuse : and do that which ye “see best.” And, behold, the measure was good ; and as soon as my mandates arrived, they placed the forehead of submission on the path of obedience.

THE DESIGN which I formed for vanquishing Auroos Khaun, and for subduing the Dusht of Kipchauk, was this. When Touktummish Buddau Khaun was defeated by Auroos Khaun, and fled to me for shelter, I counselled with myself whether I should send an army with Touktummish Khaun, or whether I should go myself.

AND at this time the ambassador of Auroos Khaun arrived. And I saw my advantage in this — that I should speak fair to his ambassador, and dismiss him, and shut up the road to the Dusht, and appoint an army to set out after the ambassador ;—and that on the day after that on which the ambassador should enter the presence of Auroos Khaun, without suspicion ; whilst Auroos Khaun should be unprepared, my forces should assault him.

چون چنین کردم تدبیر موافق تقدیر  
آمد که چون ایلچی اروس خان رسید و حکایت  
میکرد که افواج قاهره من چون بلای ناکهائی بر  
سر اروس خان ریختند و اروس خان تاب مقاومت  
نیاورد و قرار بر فرار داد و مهلکت دشت قیچاق مسخر  
من شد

کنکاش که در تسخیر مهالک کیلان  
و جرجان و مازندران و ازربایجان و شروان و فارس و عراق  
کردم این بود که در ایامی که عرایض اهل  
عراق از تعدی آل مظفر و ملوک طوایف بین رسید  
اراده یساق عراق کردم

و درین حال بخاطرم رسید که ملوک  
آن مهالک اگر بیک اتفاق در مقابل من در آیند  
جنگ را آماده باید بود و امرای من همچنین کنکاش  
گفتند که باستعداد جنگ باید رفت و من با  
خود چنین کنکاش دیدم که یک یک از ایشان را  
بخون رام کردانم و هرکس رام نشود ویرا بسزا رسانم

اول کسی که بمن پناه آورد امیر  
علی حاکم مازندران بود که بمن پیشکش  
فرستاد

AND when I did so, the measure proved Book I.  
 successful. For when the ambassador arrived, even whilst  
 he related his story, my victorious armies, like unto an  
 unforeseen calamity, poured on the head of Auroos Khaun.  
 And Auroos Khaun had not the power to oppose them;  
 and he resolved on flight. And the Dusht of Kipchauk  
 was subdued. †

THE DESIGNS which I formed for sub-  
 duing the countries of Kilaun, and Jurjaun, and Mau-  
 zinduraun, and Azzurbauejaun, and Shurwaun, and Fau-  
 ris, and Erauk, were these. In those days, when the  
 petitions of the people of Erauk, on account of the op-  
 pressions of the race of Muzzuffur, and of the rulers of  
 the nations, came unto me, I resolved to go down upon  
 Erauk.

AND at this time it came into my mind,  
 that if the rulers of those countries should join together  
 to oppose me, I must be well prepared for war: and my  
 Ameers gave this counsel, saying, "We must go prepa-  
 red for war." And I resolved with myself, that I  
 would make them obedient unto me, one by one; and  
 that I would chastise those who refused to submit.

AND the first person, who sought my pro-  
 tection, was Ameer Aali the ruler of Mauzinduraun,

† Upon the death of Auroos Khaun, which happened soon after his  
 defeat, Touktummish Khaun was established on the throne of the Dusht  
 of Kipchauk, by the assistance of Timour.

فرستاد و در مکتوبی که نوشته بود قید کرده بود که  
ما جمعی که از آل علی ایم قناعت باین سر زمین کرده  
ایم ان تاخذوا قدرتکم اقوی وان تعفوا اقرب للتقوی  
یعنی اگر بپذیرید قدرت شما قویتر است و اگر عفو  
کنید نزدیک به پرهیزکاری است

من رجوع حاکم مازندران را شکون\*  
گرفتم و متوجه مهلت کیلان و جرجان شدم و چون  
حکام آنجا بمن رجوع نیاوردند و افواج قاهره بر سر  
ایشان تعیین نمودم و خود بعراق لشکر کشیدم  
و اصفهان را مسخر ساختم و بر اهل اصفهان  
اعتبار کرده قلعه را بدست ایشان سپردم و ایشان  
باغی شده داروغه را که بر ایشان تعیین کرده بودم  
با سه هزار کس از سپاه بقتل آوردند من هم  
حکم بقتل عام اهالی اصفهان کردم

کنکاشی که در تسخیر دارالملک  
قارس و تنبه عراق کردم اینست  
که چون شیراز را به آل مظفر  
گذاشتم و در اصفهان سه هزار کس  
تعیین

who sent gifts unto me; and in the letter which he wrote unto me, he inserted this — “We, who are of the posterity of Aali, have rested satisfied with this land. ان تاخذوا قدرتكُم اقوي وان تعفوا اقرب + That is to say; *If thou wilt take it from us, thy power is greater than ours; but if thou wilt spare us, it will come nearer to clemency.*” Book I.

I CONSIDERED the submission of the ruler of Mauzinduraun as a happy omen; and I turned toward the countries of Kilaun and Jurjaun. And when the princes of those countries submitted not unto me, I appointed troops to go down upon them; and I myself drew my army into Erauk.

AND I conquered the city of Isfahaun. And I trusted in the people of Isfahaun; and I delivered the castle into their hands. And they rebelled; and the Daurogheh, whom I had placed over them, they slew, with three thousand of the soldiers. And I also commanded that a general slaughter should be made of the people of Isfahaun.

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of the chief city of Fauris, and the rest of Erauk, is this.

WHEN I left Sharauze in the hands of the descendants of Muzzuffur, and stationed three thousand

+ Arabic.

تغین نمود و بجهته دفع و رفع تفتیش خان بجانب  
دشت قیچاق لشکر کشیدم اهل اصفهان داروغه را  
بقتل رسانیده بودند و اهالی شیراز نیز قدم اطاعت  
بیرون گذاشته بودند

لهذا تجدید یساق مہلکت عراق نمود  
و ہشتاد ہزار سوار موجود ساختم و کنکاش کردم اگر  
بیک مرتبہ با این لشکر کران بعراق در آیم گنجایش  
نخواهد بود و افواج را مقرر ساختم کہ فوج فوج  
بمہلکت عراق ترکتاز آورند

چون چنین کنکاش کردم لشکر خود را  
سہ فوج ساختم و پیش از خود تعیین نمودم و لشکرہای  
متفرقہ کہ در عراق جمع آمدہ بودند ہبہ پراکنده  
شدند و بر شیراز لشکر کشیدم و شاہ منصور بہن رو  
برو شد و بسزای خود رسید

کنکاشی کہ در شکست دادن تفتیش  
خان کردم این بود  
کہ در دشت قیچاق لشکریان من  
بواسطہ آنکہ پنج ماہ در تعاقب تفتیش خان  
معطل شدند قحطی و تنگی در لشکر من بسیار شد  
چنانچہ

men in Isfahaun, and drew my armies towards the Dush Book I.  
 of Kipchauk, to reduce and drive out Touktummish  
 Khaun, † the people of Isfahaun put my Daurogheh to  
 death : and the inhabitants of Sharauze also turned aside  
 from their obedience.

AND on these accounts I went down upon  
 the kingdom of Erauk a second time, and I collected to-  
 gether eighty thousand horsemen. And I reflected, that  
 if I entered into Erauk at one time with this mighty ar-  
 my, that they could not be supported. And I commanded  
 my armies, that they should invade the kingdom of Erauk,  
 one after the other.

AND when I had resolved thus, I divided  
 my forces into three armies, and sent them down before  
 me. And the divided troops who had come together in  
 the kingdom of Erauk, were all dispersed abroad. And  
 I drew an army on Sharauze : and Shaah Munsoor oppo-  
 sed me face to face. And he met with his reward. ‡

THE DESIGN which I formed in defeating  
 Touktummish Khaun was this.

WHEN my armies were weakened by a  
 pursuit of five months after Touktummish Khaun in the  
 Dush of Kipchauk, famine and scarcity were very great  
 in my army, even so that for many days my people lived

† Who, forgetting the repeated services and assistances which he had  
 received from Timour, had during his absence in Persia &c. made incur-  
 sions into Mauwur u Nuhur.

‡ i. e. was slain in the action.



چنانچه چند روز باش یلباق\* وکوشت شکار و تخم  
مرغان صحرای، اوقات میگذرانیدند تا آنکه تفتیش  
خان احوال لشکر مرا شنیده فرصت یافت وبا لشکری  
بیشتر از مور و ملخ آمده بهن رو برو شد

ولشکریان من بسیار کرسنه بودند ولشکر  
تفتیش خان آسوده و سرداران وامزای من دل نهاله  
جنگ نهي شدند تا آنکه فرزندان ونبایر آمده زانو  
زدند و اختیار جانسپاری نمودند

ودرین وقت علیدار تفتیش خان بهن  
سازش کرد وکنکاش چنین یافتم که جنگ بیندازم  
و در هنگام مقابله هر دو صف علیدار وی علم ویرا  
نکونسار ساز

† To render the importance of this DESIGN intelligible, it may be proper to observe, that in Asiatic encounters the disappearance or retreat of the grand standard of the prince has ever been, and still is, attended with the loss of the battle. This standard is conspicuous for its size, and accompanies that body of troops immediately headed by the prince himself. The eyes of the whole army are fixed upon it. While it continues displayed and advancing, the troops are satisfied that their prince is with them; but the moment it disappears, or retreats, they conclude that he is either slain or flying from the field: and the dispersion of his forces immediately follows.

Aali Yezzudi appears to be totally ignorant of the good understanding which had taken place between Timour and the standard-bearer of Touksummish Khaun. Unacquainted with this circumstance, he is at a loss to account for certain of the emperor's actions prior to the battle. In relating the movements of the army a short time before the action, he says, "Tocat-  
" mich

چون

on the flesh of the beasts of the forests, and on the eggs of the birds of the desert. And Touktummish Khaun heard of the state of my people, and found his advantage; and, with an army more numerous than the ants and the locusts, came upon me, and opposed me face to face. Book I.

AND my people were an hungered, and the army of Touktummish Khaun were full. And my chiefs and my Ameers set not their hearts upon battle, until my sons and my grandsons came, and kneeled down, and devoted their lives unto me.

AND at this time the standard-bearer of Touktummish plotted secretly with me. And I found it was good that I should assault the foe; and that, when the two armies were engaged, the standard-bearer of Touktummish Khaun should invert his standard. †

“ mich s'étoit imaginé que lorsque Timur arriveroit au fleuve de Fic, il le traverseroit par les passages ordinaires, c'est pourquoi il s'étoit mis en embuscade pour le surprendre dans ce passage : mais l'Empereur s'étoit précautionné contre les desseins de Tocatmich ; il avoit passé le fleuve à la nage par un autre endroit, et il étoit arrivé près de lui sans péril. *Quoi-qu'il en soit, ce Prince ayant compris la maniere d'agir de Tocatmich Can, il s'arrêta dans ce lieu là, jusqu'à ce que toutes les Troupes s'y fussent rendues, &c.*” Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 98.

This is another proof of the superiority of the history of Timour, written by himself, over that written by Aali Yezzudi; who, though a tolerably accurate narrator of the exploits of Timour, appears to be, in most cases, an absolute stranger to the secret springs and motives which influenced his conduct.

چون خبر زانو زدن فرزندان بهسامع امرا  
ونونیان رسیده همگی قوی دل کشته دل نهاد جنگ  
شدند

وامیر زاده ابا بکر با هشت هزار سوار هراول  
ساختم و چون آتش قتال وجدال بلند شد امر کردم  
که خیه‌ها را بر پا سازند و بطبخ طعام مشغول شوند  
و درین وقت علم تقش خان سر نکون  
شد و تقش خان شکسته رکاب و گسسته عنان  
الوس جوجی را بیاد غارت داده پشت بهرگه کرد  
و فرار نمود

گنکاشی که در تسخیر دار الاسلام  
بغداد و عراق عرب کردم این بود  
که بعد از آنکه عراق عجم و فارس را  
مسخر ساختم درین وقت مکتوب قطب الاقطاب پیر  
من بهن رسید که قهرمان عراق عرب و عجم عراق را  
بتوارزانی داشته

در تسخیر بغداد چنین گنکاش کردم  
که اول ایلچی نزد سلطان احمد جلایر فرستادم تا

+ i. e. At the time that the advanced guard was engaged, Timour, assured of success from his intrigue with the standard-bearer of Touktum-mith,

AND when it reached the ears of the Ameers and the Leaders, that my children had kneeled before me, and had offered to devote their lives unto me, they became strong of heart, and they resolved on battle. Book I.

AND I appointed the prince Abau Bukkur, with eight thousand horsemen, the advanced guard. And when the flames of war and of slaughter ascended high, I commanded that the tents should be pitched, and that they should prepare victuals. †

AND at this time the standard of Touktummish Khaun was inverted: and Touktummish, dismayed and confounded, gave the tribe of Jouji to the wind of desolation; and turned his back on the field of slaughter, and fled.

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of Bughdaud (the city of Ilaum) and Erauk a Arrub, was this.

AFTER I had subdued Erauk a Ajjum and Fauris, in those days a letter from Koottub ul Aktaub, my PEER, came unto me, saying, "The lord of Erauk a Ajjum and Arrub hath given Erauk unto thee."

AND thus I acted in the reduction of Bughdaud. I first sent an ambassador to Soeltaun Ahmud Jullaur, that he might inform himself of the prowess

mish, ordered in contempt the cavalry of his main body to dismount and prepare their victuals. Vid. *Hist. Timur-Be*, Tom. II. p. 114.

and

احوال شجاعت و معاش سلطان احمد والي بغداد  
 و لشکر ويرا معلوم نباید  
 و ایلچی به بغداد رفته بین عرضه داشت  
 نمود که سلطان احمد پارچه کوشتی است و دو  
 چشم دارد

من تکیه بر تایید اینری نموده ایلغار  
 کردم و خود را باستعجال به بغداد رسانیدم و سلطان  
 احمد جالبی قرار بر فرار داده و بطرف کربلا گریخت  
 و دار الاسلام بغداد مسخر من گشت

کنکاشی که در استیصال تقش خان  
 کردم این بود

که چون الوس جوجی خان را بغارت  
 داده و هربیت یافته بود در وقت فرصت لشکرهای  
 کران از راه دربند و شیروان بر ولایت اذربایجان  
 فرستاد و آغاز فتنه و فساد کرد و من چون عراقین را  
 مسخر ساخته بودم در استیصال وی چنین کنکاش  
 کردم که با لشکرهای خروان از راه دربند  
 بدشت قیچاق در آیم

و عرض لشکر خود را ملاحظه نمودم  
 لشکرهای من تا چهار فرسنگ راه یسال بسته ایستاده  
 بودند شکر الهی بجای آوردم  
 و از

and the conduct of Sooltaun Ahmud the ruler of Bughdaud, and of the strength of his forces. Book I.

AND the ambassador went to Bughdaud, and wrote word unto me, saying, "Behold, Sultaun Ahmud is a piece of animated flesh: and lo, he hath "two eyes." †

AND I rested on the favour of the Almighty; and I marched with speed, and I came to Bughdaud suddenly. And Sooltaun Ahmud Jullaur resolved on flight, and he fled toward Kurbullan: and Bughdaud, (the house of Islaum) was conquered.

THE DESIGN which I formed for extirpating Teuktummish Khaun was this.

AFTER he had given up the tribe of Jouji to the wind of desolation, and had been put to flight; he, in the hour of advantage, sent down a mighty army on the kingdom of Azzurbaucjan by the way of Durbund and Sharevaun, and began to raise commotions therein. And when I had conquered the two Erauks, thus I resolved to destroy him—that I would go into the Dushk of Kipchuk with a mighty army by the way of Durbund.

AND I reviewed my armies, and behold, they stood on four furlongs of ground ‡ in battle array: and I gave thanks to God. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

† A mode of speech used by the ambassador to express his contempt of the abilities of Sooltaun Ahmud.

‡ About 13 English miles.

واز آب تیهور عبور نهوده بایسل والوس  
 دشت برلیغها نوشتم که هر کس بمن در آید بر آید  
 وهر کس در اقتد بر اقتد  
 ودر سنه ۷۹۷ بدشت قیچاق در آمدم  
 وتا اقصای زمین شال رفتم وایل والوس جوجی را  
 که راه مخالفت من می پیبوندند خراب ومستاصل  
 ساختم وولایت والوسات وقلعههای اقلیم پنجم وششم را  
 مسخر ساختم ومظفر ومنصور معاودت نمودم

کنکاشی که در تسخیر هندوستان  
 کردم این بود که اول بسبیل مزاج دانی از  
 فرزندان وامرا کنکاش خواستم  
 امیر زاده پیر محمد جهانگیر  
 گفت که چون مملکت هند را بکیریم از زر هند  
 عالم گیر شویم  
 وامیر زاده محمد سلطان کف هند را  
 میکیریم لیکن هندوستان را حصارها است اول دریاها  
 دوم جنگلها ویشها سیوم سپاه سلاح دار وفیلان  
 آدم شکار

امیر

AND I crossed the waters of Timour †. Book I.  
And I wrote mandates to the people, and the tribes of the  
Dusht of Kipchawk, saying; Whoever cometh in unto  
me, let him come; and whoever refuseth, let him refuse.

AND in the year seven hundred and ninety A.D.  
seven I entered the Dusht of Kipchawk. And I went to 1394  
the boundaries of the land of the north; and the people,  
and the tribes of Jouji, who opposed me, I destroyed.  
And I subdued the countries and the castles of the fifth  
and of the sixth region. ‡ And I returned victorious and  
triumphant.

MY DESIGN, for reducing the empire of  
Hindoostan, was this. First, to discover the thoughts  
of my Sons and of my Ameer, I demanded counsel of  
them.

THE prince Peer Mahummad Jchaungheer  
said; "Behold, when we shall subdue the empire of  
"Hind, with the gold of Hind, we shall become the  
"conquerors of the world."

AND the prince Mahummud Sooltaun  
spoke, saying; "We may subdue Hind: yet Hindo-  
"staun hath many ramparts. First, the rivers; and se-  
"condly, the wildernesses and the forests; and thirdly,  
"the foldiers clad in armour; and fourthly, the ele-  
"phants, destroyers of men."

† The word *Timour* is probably an error.

‡ He penetrated to Moscow, at that time the capital of Russia, which  
he pillaged. Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. II. p. 363. See also note on p. 131.



امیر زاده سلطان حسین گفت که  
چون هند را بگیری بر چهار اقلیم حاکم و فرمان فرما  
گردیم

امیر زاده شاه رخ گفت که در قوانین  
ترک خوانده ام که پنج پادشاه عظیم الشان اند که  
از بزرگی ایشانرا بنام نمیخوانند پادشاه هند را دارا  
میگویند و پادشاه روم را قیصر میخوانند و پادشاه خطا  
و چین و ماچین را فغور مینامند و پادشاه ترکستان را  
خاقان میگویند و پادشاه ایران و توران را شهنشاه  
میخوانند و حکم شهنشاه همیشه بر ممالک هندوستان  
جاری بوده و چون ایران و توران زمین بتصرف ما  
است لازم است که هندوستان را هم مسخر

گردانیم و امرا گفتند که اگرچه هند را میگیریم  
لیکن اگر اقامت نماییم نسل ما ضایع شود و اولاد  
و احفاد ما از ترکیب بدر آیند و هندی زبان گردند  
چون بر عزیت تسخیر هند کبر همت  
بسته بودم نخواستم که ترک عزیت خود نمایم و در  
جواب ایشان گفتم که به تنگری تعالی متوجه میشوم  
و از قران فال جنگ می بینم تا آنچه امر تنگری  
تعالی

THE prince Sooltaun Hoossein spoke, and Book I.  
 said; "When we shall have conquered Hindostaun, we  
 "shall become the lords and the rulers of four re-  
 "gions." †

THE prince Shaahrokh said; "I have read  
 "in the Toorki annals, that there are five mighty  
 "kings, whom, because of their greatness, they mention  
 "not by their names. For, behold, they call the king  
 "of Hind, Daurau; and the king of Room they call  
 "Keefur; and the king of Khuttun, and Cheen, and  
 "Maucheen, they stile Fughfoor; and they call the king  
 "of Toorkistaun, Khaukaun; and they call the lord of  
 "Eraun, and of Tooraun, King of kings. And, lo!  
 "the power of the King of kings hath, in all times, been  
 "over the empire of Hindostaun: and since the land of  
 "Eraun, and the land of Tooraun are in our hands, it  
 "behoveth us to conquer Hindostaun also."

THE Ameers spoke, and said; "Although  
 "we may subdue Hind, yet if we tarry in that land, our  
 "posterity will be lost; and our children, and our grand  
 "children, will degenerate from the vigour of their fore-  
 "fathers, and become speakers of the language of Hind."

AND I had resolved on the conquest of  
 Hindostaun, and I was loth to desist from my resolution:  
 and I answered them, saying; "I will turn to Almighty  
 "God, and I will seek the sign of war in the KORAUN,

† i.e. Four sevenths of the known world. For the Arabians and Per-  
 sians, following the antient Greek writers, distribute what they imagine the  
 habitable parts of the earth, into seven regions or climates.

تعالی باشد بدان عمل نمایم و ایشان همه قبول کردند

چون از مصحفی مجید فال کشادم این

آیه کریمه بر آمد یا ایها النبی جاهد الکفار والمنافقین †  
و چون علما مضمون آیه را با ما را خاطر نشان کردند  
سرها در زیر انداخته خاموش شدند و مرا دل از  
خاموشی ایشان افسرده شد

بخور کنکاش کردم که امرای که به

تسخیر هندوستان راضی نمیشوند ایشانرا از مرتبه امارت  
بیندازم و اقواج و قشونات ایشانرا بکوتل\* ارزانی دارم  
لیکن چون تربیت کرده من بودند نخواستم که  
ایشانرا خراب سازم و بدیشان ملایمت کردم اگرچه  
ایشان خون در دل من انداختند لیکن چون آخر  
متفق شدند چیزی در خاطر نیآوردم

و مرتبه دیگر کنکاش کردم و پیشخانه اقبال

بجانب هندوستان بر آورده فاتحه فتح خواندم

و کنکاش تعیین نمودن لشکرها بر دار

الملک هندوستان چنین کردم که امیر زاده پیر محمد  
جهانگیر را با سی هزار سوار لشکر جرانغار\* که در کابل  
بود امر نمودم که از راه کوه سلیبائی رفته و از آب سند  
گذشته بر ولایت ملتان ترکتاز آورد و مسخر گرداند  
وسلطان

† Arabic.

"that whatever be the will of God, that I may do." Book I.  
And they all consented thereto.

AND when I sought an omen in the holy book, this sacred verse came forth — "O PROPHET  
"FIGHT WITH THE INFIDELS AND THE UNBELIEVERS." And when the doctors of the law explained the meaning of the verse to the Ameers, they hung down their heads, and they were silent. And my heart was grieved by their silence.

AND I deliberated with myself concerning the Ameers who opposed the reduction of Hindostaun, whether I should throw them down from their commands, and give their troops, and their Kushoons to their Kautuls : but since I myself had exalted them, I sought not to pull them down. And I treated them with kindness : and although they had angered me, yet, as they were unanimous at last, I regarded it not.

AND I called a council a second time ; and having pitched my tents toward Hindostaun, I repeated the prayer of victory.

THUS I resolved to send down armies on the chief city of Hindostaun. I commanded the prince Peer Mahummud Jeaungheer, who was at Kaubul with thirty thousand horsemen of the left wing of the army, that, going by the way of the mountain of Soolamaun, and crossing the Sind, he should go down upon Mooltaun and subdue it.

AND

وسلطان محمد خان وامیر زاده رستم را  
 ودیگر امرا را با سی هزار سوار برانغار\* امر نمودم که از  
 آب سند گذشته از راه دامن کوه کشمیر بر ولایت  
 لاهور ترکتاز آورند و من خود با سی و دو هزار سوار  
 قول\* شدم

و چون مجبوع لشکر من نود و دو هزار  
 سوار بودند موافق و مطابق عدد اسم محمد رسول الله  
 صلی الله علیه وآله وسلم این عدد را بغال نیکو  
 و مبارک گرفتم

و سوار شدم و در موضع اندراب سرحد  
 بدخشان فرود آمدم و تنبیه کفار کوه کتور نهوده متوجه  
 غزای دار الحرب هندوستان شدم

و کنکاش پاک ساختن راه هندوستان از  
 اوغانیان چنین کردم

که چون بعرض من رسید که بعضی از  
 اوغانیان متعرض راه هندوستان شده رهنی مینمایند  
 خصوصا موسی اوغان که کلاتر قبیله کرکس است  
 و بر لشکر شاه اوغان که از چاکران و دولتخواهان

† According to D'Herbelot (*Bibl. Orientale*, p. 603.) the Mahummudans have given 99 names or attributes to their prophet, the same number by which they distinguish the Creator. By this account the names of the prophet

AND I ordered Sooltaun Mahummud Book I.  
 Khaun, and the prince Roostum, and other Ameers with  
 thirty thousand horsemen of the right wing, that, crossing  
 the waters of Sind, they should go down on the country  
 of Lahore, by the way of the skirts of the mountains of  
 Kufhmeer. And I myself with thirty and two thousand  
 horsemen, was the main body.

AND behold the whole of my army was  
 ninety and two thousand horsemen, corresponding and ac-  
 cording to the number of the names of Mahummud, the  
 prophet of God, † (be the blessing of the Almighty on  
 him and on his posterity) and I took this number as a for-  
 tunate and an happy omen.

AND I set out, and I came and pitched my  
 tents at Anduraub on the border of Budukhsaun: and  
 having punished the infidels of the mountains of Kuttoor,  
 I went on to the holy war of Hindostaun.

THE DESIGN which I formed for clearing  
 the road to Hindostaun, from the Oughans, ‡ was this.

IT was reported unto me that certain of  
 the Oughans infested the road to Hindostaun, and rob-  
 bed and plundered therein: and especially Moofi the Ou-  
 ghaun, who was the head of the tribe of Gurkus. And  
 he came down on Lushkur Shaah the Oughan, who was

phet appear to be only ninety two in number, which seems most probable.

† Or Afghans. The word is written sometimes *Oughan* and some-  
 times *Afghan* in the MS.

one

من بود ووبرا امير زاده پير محمد به محافظت قلعه  
ايراب گذاشته بود ترکتاز آورد وويرا بقتل رسانيد  
وهرچه داشتند ونداشتند بغارت داده وهدرين وقت  
ملك محمد برادر لشكر شاه آمده دان فرياد کرده  
حقيقت كشته شدن برادر خوردر را از تعدّي موسي  
بعرض رسانيد

ومن بحبس وي فرمان دادم وكفتم كه  
موسي دولتخواهي من است وامراي من سخن بر ظلم  
من كردند

اما چون خبر حبس ملك محمد وحرف  
من بكوش موسي رسيد قوي دل كشت وچون يرليغ  
طلب كه نوشته بوم بوي رسيد بي دهشت آمد  
وقلعه را پيشكش كرد

چون من بتباشاي آن قلعه رقم يكي  
از سپاهيان وي تيري بقصد من انداخت وموسي بسزا  
وجزاي خون رسيد وراه هندوستان مفتوح شد

كنكاشي كه در شكست دادن سلطان  
محمد حاكم دهلي وملو خان كردم اين بون

† When Moofi submitted, Timour found it prudent to continue him for a time in his government, and supplied him with people and necessaries to put the castle of Lameh in a proper state of defence. The emperor, on his

one of my servants and well-wishers (and the prince Peer Mahummud had left him to defend the castle of Ireaub) and he slew him, and plundered all that he had. And at this time Mullik Mahummud, the brother of Lushkur Shaah, came and demanded justice; and he set forth unto me the murder of his brother by the cruelty of Moofi. Book I.

AND I gave orders that Mullik Mahummud should be thrown into prison; and I said that Moofi was my well-wisher; and my Ameers spoke of my injustice.

BUT when the news of the confinement of Mullik Mahummud, and of that which I had said, reached the ears of Moofi, he became strong of heart. And when the mandate which I had written unto him arrived, he came without fear and he delivered up the castle.

AND when I went to view the castle, one of his soldiers shot an arrow with an intention to slay me: and Moofi met with his reward. † And the road to Hindostaun was open.

THE DESIGN which I formed for vanquishing Sooltaun Muhmood the ruler of Dehli, and Mulloo Khaun, was this.

his arrival in that neighbourhood, went to view the castle; when one of the people of Moofi let fly an arrow at him. As he had all along determined to chastise Moofi, he immediately caused him to be seized and put to death. Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. III. p. 39.

S

AND



که سلطان محمود و ملو خان با پنجاه  
 هزار سوار و پیاده و یک صد و بیست و پنجیر فیل قلعه  
 دهلی را استحکام داده بقصد جنگ من در آمد  
 و بخاطرم خطور کرد که اگر بگرفتند قلعه  
 دهلی مقید شوم مبدا کار بدور و دراز بکشد  
 با خود کنکاش کردم که خود را زیون  
 نمودار گردانم تا آنکه غنیم دلیر شوم بجنگ صف  
 مبادرت نماید  
 و از این جهت در دور لشکر خندق کندم  
 و میان خندق خود را استوار ساختم و فوجی را باستقبال  
 ایشان فرستادم و امر کردم که خود را زیون و ترسان  
 نمودار ساخته غنیم را دلیر سازند  
 و چون غنیم خود را غالب یافت خیره  
 شده در میدان آمده با افواج قاهره رو برو شدند  
 و سلطان محمود حاکم دهلی بجنگ مبادرت نمود  
 و شکست یافت و بطرف کوهستان بگریخت و غنایم و اموال  
 بی قیاس از نقود و اجناس نصیب سپاهیان من شد  
 و در میان یک سال دارالملک هند را مسخر  
 ساختم و در اواخر سنه مذکور بدار السلطنت سپردند  
 معاونت نمودم  
 کنکاشی

SOOLTAUN Muhmood and Mulloo Khaun, Book I.  
with fifty thousand men, horsemen and footmen, and one  
hundred and twenty elephants, made strong the castle of  
Dehli, and prepared to oppose me.

AND it came into my mind, that if I should  
resolve on subduing the castle of Dehli, perhaps the war  
might be long and tedious.

AND I counselled with myself, that I would  
make myself appear weak in their fight; that the enemy  
might gain courage, and come, and fight with me on the  
plain.

AND on this account I dug a ditch round  
my army, and I strengthened myself within that ditch:  
and I sent a force to meet them. And I commanded  
the soldiers that they should show themselves weak and  
fearful, that they might give courage to the enemy.

AND when the enemy found themselves  
powerful, they exulted: and they came into the plain,  
and they opposed my victorious armies face to face. And  
Sooltaun Muhmood, the ruler of Dehli, came into battle,  
and he was defeated, and he fled toward the mountains.  
And spoils and wealth above measure, in money and in  
effects, fell to the lot of my soldiers.

AND in the space of one year I conquered  
the chief city of Hind: and at the end of the same year  
I returned toward the imperial city of Summurkund.

کنکاشی که در تسخیر مهال کرجستان  
کردم این بود

که چون از هندوستان مظفر و منصور  
معاودت نبودم هنوز از رنج سفر هند نیاسوده بودم  
که عرایض حکام عراقین رسید که کفار کرجستان قدم  
از جاده حد خود بیرون گذاشته اند

و همیشه در فکر می بودم که پادشاهانرا  
بهتر از غزا و جهاد با کفار و ملک گیری جهان  
ستانی چیزی دیگر نیست

و درین وقت که خبر طغیان کرجستانیان  
بی ایمن رسید کنکاش کردم که اگر دفع و رفع ایشان  
اهمال نهیم مبادا مفسدان آن دیار بطغیان در آیند  
و در دفع ایشان سرعت بکار بردم

و سپاهیان را که از یساق هند آمده  
بودند مختار ساختم که هرکس خواهد بجای خویش  
باشد و هرکس خواهد همراهی نماید

و بلشکرهاي خراسان و قندهار و سیستان  
و کرمان و طبرستان و کیلان و مازندران و فارس و لرستان  
صادر کردم که تهیه یساق نمایند و در حوالی اصفهان  
آیند و بلشکر ظفر اثر ملحق شوند

و کنکاش

THE DESIGN which I formed for subduing Book I.  
the countries of Goorjistaun, was this.

WHEN I returned victorious and triumphant from Hindostaun, I had not yet rested from the fatigues of the war of Hind, when the petitions of the governors of the two Erauks arrived, saying; "The infidels of Goorjistaun have advanced beyond their boundaries."

AND, behold, I at all times thought that there was nought more worthy the valour of princes than the conquering of kingdoms and empires, and the waging holy wars with infidels and unbelievers.

AND, in those days, when the news of the irruption of the infidel inhabitants of Goorjistaun arrived, I reflected, that if I delayed to chastise them, perhaps the seditious of that country might rise into open rebellion: and in chastising them I used expedition.

AND I gave liberty to the soldiers, who had returned from the war of Hind, that every one of them who chose to stay at home, might stay; and that every one who chose to go with me, might go.

AND I sent forth orders to the armies of Khoraufaun and Kundahaur, and Seistaun and Kurmaun, and Tubburistaun, and Kilaun, and Mauzinduraun, and Fauris; that they should make ready for war, and come down into the neighbourhood of Isfahaun, and be united to my victorious forces. †

† i. e. To the army which he commanded in person.

AND

وکنکاش کردم که گردن کشان هر  
ملک را متفرق سازم چنانچه بعضی گردن کشان  
خراسان و فارس را بتوران زمین فرستادم و ساحت آن  
مهاک را از مخالفت ایشان پاک ساختم و به تسخیر  
قلاع ولایت کرجستان عنان عزیت مصروف نمودم

و به کنکاشی که پسندیده سپاهیان بود  
عمل مینمودم و خود فولادی بر سر نهادم و زره داودی  
در بر کردم و شمشیر مصری حایل نمودم و بر سر  
مبارزت نشستم

و دلیران توران و بهادران خراسان و مردان  
مازندران و کیلان را نهیب دادم و قلعه سیواس و قلاع  
کرجستان را منسخر ساختم و جماعه که در قلعه ها  
بودند هبکی را مستاصل گردانیدم و غنائم آن قلعه ها  
را بر عساکر منصوره قسمت نمودم و مفسدان و اوباش  
از ریاجان را تنبیه کردم

و بعد از آن متوجه بتسخیر قلاع ملطیه  
و آن حوالی شدم و چون خاطر از تسخیر و نسق قلاع

† Viz. To set forward in great martial pomp, as afterwards described.

‡ Timour, in his first incursion into Georgia, reduced Tiflis the capital, and took prisoner Ipocrates the christian king of that country, who afterwards

AND I resolved that I would disperse and Book I.  
scatter abroad the rebellious and seditious of every coun-  
try. Thus I, ~~sent~~ into the land of Tooraun certain of  
the seditious of Khorausaun and of Fauris, and delivered  
those countries from their machinations. And I turned  
the reins of my intention to the reduction of the castles  
of Goorjistaun.

AND I determined on that measure which  
was agreeable to my soldiers. † And I placed a helmet of  
steel on my head, and I cloathed myself in the armour of  
Dauood, † and I hung a scymetar of Missur by my side,  
and I sat on the throne of war.

AND I let loose the brave men of Tooraun,  
and the valiant men of Khorausaun, and the mighty men  
of Mauzinduraun, and of Kilaun; and I subdued the  
castle of Seewaun, and the castles of Goorjistaun; and I  
destroyed all the people who were in those castles; and  
the spoils of those castles I divided among my victorious  
forces. And I chastised the seditious and the plunderers  
of Azzurbauejaun.

AND after this I went to reduce the castles  
of Mulluteah and the neighbourhood thereof. And when  
I had subdued the castles, and had taken possession of them,

wards turned Mahummudan, and became a great favourite with Timour;  
to whom he gave a suit of Armour, which he pretended Dauood (i.e. Da-  
vid) the king of Israel had forged with his own hands in a smith's shop.  
Vid. *Hist. Timur-Bec*, Tom. I. p. 400.

This is the armour which Timour put on, on the present occasion.

I resolved

جمع شد بر تسخیر حلب و حمصا هبت بستم و باندک  
توجهی آن مہلکت را مفتوح ساختم و گہر عزیت  
بر تسخیر مہالک مصر و شام بستم

و کنکاشی کہ در مفتوح ساختن مصر  
و شام کردم این بود

کہ چون خبر شوکت و قدرت من  
بہشامع قیصر رسید کہ قلاع سیواس و ملطیہ و توابع  
آنها مسخر کردم و لشکرهای ویرا کہ در قلاع بودند  
ہمگی متفرق و پراکنده گردانیدم عرق غیرت وی  
بحرکت در آمد و باغواي قرا یوسف ترکبان کہ  
از صدمہ لشکر من گریختہ بود و پناہ بقیصر بردہ بود  
بجنگ قرار داد

و نکبت و زوال قیصر نزدیک رسیدہ بود  
و قرا یوسف ویرا ترغیب نہود کہ بر من لشکر کشد  
و قیصر باغواي قرا یوسف با لشکر گران بحرکت در  
آمد و افواج مصر و شام را ہم بہد خواستہ بود

و من کنکاش کردم کہ اگر من ہم  
لشکر خود را سہ فوج سازم بہتر است اما فتح و ہزیت  
در پردہ تقدیر محجوب اند و از امرا کنکاش خواستم  
و سپاہیانہ کنکاش گفتند کہ بجنگ مبادرت باید نہود

و چون

I resolved to conquer Hullub and Humsau : † and I sub- Book I.  
 dued that country with little labour. And I girded up  
 the loins of my resolution to subdue the countries of  
 Missur and of Shaum. ‡

THE DESIGN which I formed for the reduction of Missur and of Shaum, was this.

WHEN the news of my power and my strength reached the ears of Keefur, || that I had conquered the castles of Seewaus and Mullateah, and the dependencies thereof, and that I had dispersed and defeated all his soldiers, who were in those castles, he was very wroth. And at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, the Toorkumaun ( who had fled from the shock of my army, and had sought shelter with Keefur) he resolved on war.

AND, behold, the ruin and overthrow of Keefur was at hand ; and Kurrau Eusoof urged him that he should draw an army upon me. And Keefur, at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, came down with a mighty army ; and he called the forces of Missur and of Shaum to his aid.

AND I reflected, that if I also divided my people into three armies, it would be better. But, behold, victory and defeat are hidden by the curtain of fate : and I demanded counsel of my Ameers. And they gave soldier-like counsel, saying, "Thou must go down to battle " with speed."

† Aleppo and Emessa.

‡ Egypt and Syria.

|| Cæsar : the title given by the Asiatic nations to the Turkish emperors.



و چون بخود فکر کردم چنین کنکاش  
 یافتم که آتش قیصر را بکرمی و سردی اطفال نهیم  
 و مکتوبی بقیصر نوشتم و خلاصه مضمونش آنکه  
 شکر است خداوند زمین و آسمان را که  
 اکثری از ممالک هفت اقلیم را در زیر فرمان من در  
 آورده و سلاطین و حکام عالم حلقه اطاعت مرا در کوش  
 جان کشیده اند خدای رحمت کند بر آن بنده که  
 حد خود را بشناسد و با جسارت از حد خویش فراتر نهد  
 و بر عالیشان ظاهر است که نسب و نسبت  
 تو بکجای منتهی میشود پس مناسب حال تو آنست  
 که قدم جسارت پیش نگذاری و خود را در ورطه رنج و بلا  
 نیندازی و باغوازه جمعی از دولت راندگان که بواسطه  
 اغراض خود پناه بتو برده اند و قتنه خوابیده را بیدار  
 ساخته اند در قتنه و آشوب را بر روی دولت خود و  
 نکنی لیکن که قرا یوسف را نزد من فرستی والا آنچه  
 در پرده تقدیر است بعد از مقابله صفین بر تو ظاهر  
 خواهد شد

و چون این نامه را مصحوب ایلچیان  
 کاردان نزد قیصر فرستادم کنکاش خود را  
 درین

AND when I reflected by myself, thus I Book I.  
found it was good, that I should extinguish the fire of  
Keesur by policy. And I wrote a letter to Keesur ; and  
the substance of it was this.

“ PRAISE is due to the God of the uni-  
“ verse, that he hath brought under my authority many  
“ of the kingdoms of the seven regions of the world ;  
“ and that the princes and rulers of the earth have sub-  
“ mitted unto me. May God be merciful to that ser-  
“ vant who knoweth his own limits, and who placeth not  
“ the foot of temerity beyond his proper bounds.

“ WHERE thy race and lineage endeth, is  
“ known to all men. † It is therefore worthy of thy  
“ condition, that thou advance not forward the foot of  
“ presumption, and that thou throw not thyself into the  
“ abyss of affliction and calamity ; and that thou open  
“ not the door of discord and desolation on thy empire at  
“ the instigation of the evil-minded, who have fled unto  
“ thee for their own ends, and have awakened the sleep-  
“ ing destruction ; but that thou send bound unto me  
“ Kurrau Eufoof, the Toorkumaun : otherwise, that  
“ which is concealed by the curtain of fate, after our  
“ armies meet, will be known unto thee.”

WHEN I had sent the letter to Keesur by  
the hands of experienced ambassadors, I found my advan-

† Alluding to the descent of Bajazet, which was supposed to have been  
from a Toorkumaun sailor.

درین یافتم که بجانب دار ملک شام نهضت نمایم  
 و از راه حبص و حلب روان شدم و چون بحلب رسیدم  
 شنیدم که ملک فرج پسر ملک برفوق از شنیدن خبر  
 رسیدن من از مصر متوجه دمشق شد

و من ایلغار کردم که افواج مصر و شام را  
 نکذارم که بیکدیگر ملحق شوند و ملک فرج پیش  
 دستی کرده خود را بدمشق رسانید و من در عقب  
 وی رسیده دمشق را مسخر ساختم

کنکاشی که در تسخیر بلاد روم و شکست  
 دادن قیصر کردم این بود

که چون بلاد شام را مسخر گردانیدم  
 و ملک فرج پادشاه مصر و شام از جنگ من بگریخت  
 و ایلچی من از روم با جواب نا صواب ایلدرم بایزید  
 مراجعت نمود و عرض کرد که چون خبر شکست عساکر  
 مصر و شام بقیصر رسید متفکر و اشفته گردید و تهیه  
 یساق نمود

من تسخیر دمشق و بلاد الشام نموده  
 از راه موصل به بغداد نهضت نمودم و کنکاش کردم  
 که بجانب ازربایجان متوجه شوم تا قیصر اگر بر  
 عزیمت خود مصمم باشد ظاهر شود

و چون

tage in this, that I should go toward the chief city of Book I.  
Shaum. And I set out by the way of Hums and Hullub. And when I came to Hullub, I heard that Mullik Furruij, the son of Mullik Burkook, on hearing the news of my coming from Missur, had gone to Dummishk. †

AND I marched with speed, that I might not permit the forces of Missur and the armies of Shaum to join themselves together : but Mullik Furruij was quicker than I, and got to Dummishk. And I arrived after him at Dummishk, and reduced that city.

THE DESIGN which I formed for subduing the cities of Room, and for defeating the armies of Keefur, was this.

WHEN I had conquered the cities of Shaum, and Mullik Furruij (the king of Missur and Shaum) had fled from my battle ; my ambassador returned from Room, and brought the defiance of Yeldurum Bauezzed, ‡ and set forth — that when the news of the defeat of the armies of Missur and of Shaum came to Keefur, that he was amazed and confounded, and prepared for war.

HAVING conquered Dummishk and the cities of Shaum, I went towards Bughdaud by the way of Moosul. And I resolved that I would turn toward Azzurbauejaun, that if Keefur should persist in his intentions, it might be known.

† Damascus.

‡ Bajazet.

AND

و چون بجانب تبریز روانه شدم بعضی از  
امیر زادگانرا با افواج کران بر سر بغداد فرستادم  
و سلطان احمد جالیر فرخ نامی را از توکران خود  
باسباب قلعه داری و جمیعت بسیار بمحافظه شهر  
و قلعه بغداد بگذارشته بود

و امیر زادگان به بغداد رسیدند و شهر را  
محاصره کردند و کار بجنگ انجامید و حقیقت را  
بین عرضه داشت کردند

و من کنکاش درین یاقم که خود رفته  
شهر و قلعه بغداد را مستخلص گردانم و از راه تبریز  
مراجعت نمودم و ابلاغ کردم و خود را به بغداد رسانیدم  
و بتدبیر و احتیاط سپاهکری و لوازم قلعه گیری پرداختم  
و بعد از آنکه مدت محاصره بدو ماه و چند روز  
کشید قلعه و شهر مسخر و مفتوح گردید

و فرخ قلعه دار در آب رجه غرق شد و من  
بشهر در آمدم و امر نمودم که جمیع مفسدان و اوپاش  
شهر را بقتل رسانند و قلعه و عمارت شهر را انداخته  
بخاک برابر سازند

و از بغداد بطرف ازربایجان عنان عزیمت  
معمولی داشتم و چندگاه در آن مهلکت طرح اقامت  
انداختم

و چون

AND when I set out toward Tubburaze, I Book I.  
sent down certain of the princes, with a mighty army  
upon Bughdaud. And Sooltaun Ahmud Jullaur had  
left one of his servants, whose name was Furrukh, with  
numerous forces, and the necessaries and the implements  
of defence, to guard the city and the castle of Bugh-  
daud.

AND the princes arrived at Bughdaud, and  
they surrounded the city; and the people in the city op-  
posed them: and they informed me thereof.

AND I found it was good that I myself  
should go and reduce the city and the castle of Bughdaud.  
And I turned back by the way of Tubburaze, and I  
marched with speed, and came to Bughdaud. And I  
besieged Bughdaud; and when the siege had continued  
for two months and some days, the castle and the city of  
Bughdaud were conquered and subdued.

AND Furrukh, the governor, was drowned  
in the waters of the Tigris. And I entered into Bugh-  
daud, and I commanded that they should slay the seditious  
inhabitants of that city; and that they should throw  
down the castle and the buildings thereof, and make  
them level with the earth.

AND from Bughdaud I turned the reins  
of my intention toward Azzurbaucjaun; and I sojourned  
in that kingdom for some time.

AND

و چون به سامع من رسید که قیصر افواج  
 بر بلاد حلب و حص و دیار بکر تعیین نموده و قرا یوسف  
 ترکمان که از من گریخته بود و پناه بقیصر برده  
 براهزنی و آزار قافله که بحرمین شریفین آمد و شد می  
 نمایند مشغول است و درین وقت جباعه آمدند و از  
 تعدی و ستم وی داد خواه شدند و بر من لازم شد  
 که سزای قرا یوسف را در کنارش نهم و قیصر را از  
 خواب غفلت بیدار سازم

درین باب گنگاش چنین یافتیم که از  
 هر شهری و قبیله لشکر طلب دارم و حشر کرده بر سر  
 قیصر روان شوم و چون لشکرها جمع آمده بودند در  
 ماه رجب سنه هشتصد و چهار هجری از اذربایجان  
 بعزم رزم قیصر روانه شدم

و پیشتر از خود افواج تعیین نمودم که  
 بر مملکت روم ترکتاز آورند و فوج دیگر تعیین کردم  
 که منازل و آب و علف را ملاحظه کنند و از راه انکوریه  
 متوجه شدم و قیصر با چهار صد هزار کس از سوار  
 و پیاده به قباله و مدافعه من شتافت و جنگ انداختم  
 و فتح کردم و قیصر را لشکریان من دست گیر کرده  
 محصور آوردند و بعد یورش هفت ساله مظفر و منصور  
 بسرقتند مراجعت نمودم

---

AND when it reached my ears that Keefur Book I.  
 had sent down armies on Hullub and on Hums, and on  
 Deaur-a-bukkur; and that Kurrau Eusoof, the Toorku-  
 maun (who had fled from before me and sought protec-  
 tion with Keefur) was employed in assaulting and molest-  
 ing the Kauruvvaun which went to the sacred cities; (and  
 at this time people came and demanded protection from  
 his cruelty and oppression) it became my duty that I  
 should chastise Kurrau Eusoof, and awaken Keefur from  
 the sleep of forgetfulness.

AND in this matter I found it was good,  
 that I should call out the forces of every city and of every  
 tribe, and collect them together and go down upon Kee-  
 fur. And when my forces were collected together, in  
 the month of Rujjub, in the year of the Hijreh 804, I April,  
1402.  
 set out from Azzurbauejaun to wage war with Keefur.

AND I sent an army before me to ravage  
 the kingdom of Room; and I sent another army to exa-  
 mine the stages, and the water, and the forage; and I  
 went by the way of Angooreah. And Keefur with four  
 hundred thousand men, horse-men and foot-men, advan-  
 ced with speed to oppose and to expel me. And I assaulted  
 him and obtained the victory; and my soldiers seized upon  
 Keefur, and brought him into my presence. And after a  
 war of seven years, I returned victorious and triumphant  
 to Summurkund.





تنزوات تیمور

مقالا دوم

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE INSTITUTES OF  
TIMOUR.

## تزوگات تیپور

### مقاله دوم

ملک گیر گامکار ونبایر ذوی القدر  
 فرزندان جهاندارا معلوم باد که چون از درگاه  
 تنکری تعالی امید دارم که بسیاری  
 از فرزندان واولاد واحفاد من بر مسند سلطنت  
 ومملکت داری خواهند نشست بنابرین بر امور سلطنت  
 خود تزوگات بر بسته دستور العهل آنرا انشا نمودم  
 که هر یک از فرزندان واولاد واحفاد من بدان موجب  
 عملنوره دولت وسلطنت مرا که برنجها ومختتها  
 وقزاقیها وجنگها بتاییدات ربانی ومیامن نیروی ملت  
 محمدی صلی الله علیه وسلم ودوستی آل عظام  
 واصحاب گرام آنحضرت بچنگ آورده ام نگاهبانی  
 نمایند

واین

BOOK THE SECOND.

THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR.

**B**E it known to my fortunate sons, the conquerors of <sup>Book II.</sup> kingdoms; to my mighty descendants, the lords of the earth; that since I have hope in Almighty God that many of my children, descendants, and posterity, shall sit upon the throne of power and regal authority; upon this account, having established laws and regulations for the well-governing of my dominions, I have collected together those regulations and laws as a model for others: to the end, that every one of my children, descendants, and posterity, acting agreeably thereto, my power and empire, which I acquired through hardships, and difficulties, and perils, and bloodshed, (by the divine Favour, and by the influence of the holy religion of Mahummud, (God's peace be upon him) and with the assistance of the powerful descendants and illustrious followers of that prophet) may be by them preserved.

AND

واین تزوکات را در امور سلطنت خویش  
دستور العمل سازند تا دولت و سلطنتی که از من  
بایشان برسد از خلل و زوال ایمن باشد

اکنون سبیل فرزندان کامیاب نامدار  
و نبایر مهالکستان ذوی الاقدار آنکه همچنانچه  
من به دوازده امر که شعار خود ساختم و بهر تبه سلطنت  
رسیدم و بدین دوازده امر مهلکت گیری و ملک  
داری کردم و اورنگ سلطنت خود را زیب و زینت دادم  
ایشان نیز بهین تزوک عمل نمایند و دولت سلطنت  
مرا و خود را نگاهبانی کنند

و از جمله تزوکاتی که بر دولت و سلطنت  
خود بر بستم اول این بود که دین خدا و شریعت  
محمد مصطفی را در دنیا رواج دادم و همیشه و همه  
جاء تقویت دین اسلام نمودم

دویم آنکه با جماعه دوازده طبقه و طایفه  
ملک گیری و جهانداری کردم و ارکان دولت سلطنت  
خود را بدیشان استوار نمودم و مجلس خود را از ایشان

† The maxims here mentioned are not the twelve following rules, but those given at length in the 18th, 19th, and 20th pages of the MS.

AND let them make these regulations the <sup>Book II.</sup> rule of their conduct in the affairs of their empire, that the fortune, and the power, which shall descend from me to them, may be safe from discord and dissolution.

Now therefore be it known to my sons, the fortunate and the illustrious, to my descendants, the mighty subduers of kingdoms; that, in like manner as I by twelve maxims, † which I established as the rules of my conduct, attained to regal dignity; and with the assistance of these maxims conquered and governed kingdoms, and decorated and adorned the throne of my empire; let them also act according to these regulations, and preserve the splendor of mine and their dominions.

AND among the rules which I established for the support of my glory and empire, the FIRST was this — That I promoted the worship of Almighty God, and propagated the religion of the sacred Mahummud, throughout the world; and at all times, and in all places, supported the true faith.

SECONDLY, with the people of the twelve classes and tribes I conquered and governed kingdoms; and with them I strengthened the pillars of my fortune, and from them I formed my assembly. ‡

† The twelve classes of men, here alluded to, are fully described in a subsequent part of the institutes.

THIRDLY,

## آراسته ساختم

سیوم آنکه بهشاورت و گنکاش و تدبیرات  
و حزم و احتیاط فوجها را شکستم و ملکها را منسخر خود  
ساختم و امور سلطنت خود را بهدارا و مروت و تحبیل  
و تغافل از پیش بردم و بدوستان و بدشمنان مدارا نمودم

چهارم به توره و به تزوک کارخانه سلطنت  
خود را بند و بست نمودم و به توره و به تزوک خود را  
به مرتبه قایم نگاهداشتم که امرا و وزرا و سپاه و رعیت از  
مرتبه خود تجاوز نتوانستند نمود و هر یک حافظ مرتبه  
خود می بودند

پنجم امرا و سپاه خود را باولی\* دادم  
و ایشان را بزر و زیور خوشدل ساختم و در بزمها اورن  
دادم و در رزمها جانفشانی کردند و درم و دینار را از  
ایشان دریغ نداشتم و بجهت آسانی کارهای ایشان  
محنت و مشقت ایشان را خود بر میداشتم و تربیت  
ایشان مینمودم تا آنکه بیازوی مردی و مردانگی

† The word which I have rendered *policy*, cannot be translated into the English language with any degree of force or energy. It signifies *political inattention*

و اتفاق

THIRDLY, by consultation, and delibera- Book II.  
tion, and provident measures; by caution, and by vi-  
gilance I vanquished armies, and I reduced kingdoms to  
my authority. And I carried on the business of my em-  
pire by complying with times and occasions, and by ge-  
nerosity, and by patience, and by policy; † and I acted  
with courteousness towards my friends and towards my  
enemies.

FOURTHLY, by order and by discipline I  
regulated the concerns of my government; and by dis-  
cipline and by order I so firmly established my authority,  
that the Ameers, and the Vizzeers, and the soldiers, and  
the subjects, could not aspire beyond their respective de-  
grees; and every one of them was the keeper of his own  
station.

FIFTHLY, I gave encouragement to my  
Ameers and to my soldiers, and with money and with  
jewels I made them glad of heart; and I permitted them  
to come into the banquet; and in the field of blood they  
hazarded their lives. And I withheld not from them my  
gold nor my silver. And I educated and trained them to  
arms; and to alleviate their sufferings, I myself shared in  
their labours, and in their hardships; until, with the arm  
of fortitude and resolution, and with the unanimity of my

*inattention or negligence, or pretending not to see or discover such things as it  
would be improper, or impolitical, to take notice of.*

X

chiefs,



و اتفاق امرا و سپهسالاران و بهادران بضر ب شهشیر  
تختگاه بیست و هفت پادشاه را مسخر ساختم و در  
ممالک ایران و توران و روم و مغرب و شام و مصر و عراق  
عرب و عجم و مازندران و کیلانات و شروانات و ازربایجان  
و فارس و خراسان و دشت جته و دشت قیچاق و خوارزم  
و ختن و کابلستان و باختر زمین و هندوستان پادشاه  
شدم و فرمان فرما گشتم

و چون جامهء سلطنت در پوشیدم از  
عسافیت و غنودن بر بستر راحت چشم پوشیدم و از  
دوازده سالکی قترها زدم و محنتها کشیدم و تدبیرها  
کردم و فوجها شکستم و از امرا و سپاه نفاقها دیدم  
و سخنان تلخ شنیدم و بتحمل و تغافل گذرانیدم و بذات  
خود شهشیرها زدم تا آنکه بر ولایات و ممالک مسلط  
شدم و نسامور گشتم

ششم به عدالت و انصاف خلق خدا را  
از خود راضی داشتیم و بر گناه کارویی گناه رحم  
کردیم

chiefs, and my generals, and my warriors, by the edge <sup>Book II.</sup> of the sword I obtained possession of the thrones of seven and twenty kings; and became the king and the ruler of the kingdoms of Eraun and of Tooraun; and of Room, and of Mughrib, and of Shaum; and of Missur, and of Erauk-a-Arrub, and of Ajjum; and of Mauzinduraun, and of Kylaunaut; and of Shurvaunaut, and of Azzurbauejaun; and of Fauris, and of Khorausaun; and of the Dusht of Jitteh, and the Dusht of Kipchauk; and of Khauruzm, and of Khuttun, and of Kauboolistaun; and of Hindostaun, and of Bankhur Zemeen.

AND when I cloathed myself in the robe of empire; I shut my eyes to safety, and to the repose which is found on the bed of ease. And from the twelfth year of my age I travelled over countries, and combated difficulties, and formed enterprises, and vanquished armies; and experienced mutinies amongst my officers and my soldiers, and was familiarized to the language of disobedience; (and I opposed them with policy and with fortitude) and I hazarded my person in the hour of danger; until in the end I vanquished kingdoms and empires, and established the glory of my name.

SIXTHLY, by justice and equity I gained the affections of the people of God; and I extended my clemency to the guilty as well as to the innocent; and I

کردم و حکم بر حق کردم و باحسان در دلهای خلق  
مقام نمودم و بسیاست و انصاف سپاه و رعیت مرا در  
میانه امید و بیم نگاهداشتم و بر رعایا وزیر دستان  
ترحم کردم و بسپاه انعام دادم

و داد مظلوم از ظالم گرفتم و بعد از  
اثبات ظلم مالی و بدنی موافق شرع در میانه  
ایشان محاکمه نمودم و بکنایه دیگری  
دیگری را نگرفتم

و کسانی که بمن بدیها کرده بر من  
شبهیها کشیده بودند و در کار من شکستها  
رسانیده بودند چون بمن التجا آوردند اعزاز ایشان  
نموده بر مرتبه ایشان افزودم و بر کردارهای بد ایشان  
قلم نسیان کشیدم و بنوعی بایشان سلوک نمودم  
که اگر خدشه در خاطر ایشان بود بالکلیه  
محو شد

هفتم سادات و علما و مشایخ و عقلا  
و محدثین اخبار را برگزیده داشتم و تعظیم و احترام  
ایشان نمودم و ارباب شجاعت را دوست داشتم چه  
تنکری

passed that sentence which truth required: and by benevolence I gained a place in the hearts of men; and by rewards and punishments I kept both my troops and my subjects divided between hope and fear. And I compassionated the lower ranks of my people, and those who were distressed. And I gave gifts to the soldiers. Book II.

AND I delivered the oppressed from the hand of the oppressor; and after proof of the oppression, whether on the property or the person, the decision which I passed between them was agreeable to the sacred law. And I did not cause any one person to suffer for the guilt of another. †

THOSE who had done me injuries, who had attacked my person in battle, and had counteracted my schemes and enterprises, when they threw themselves on my mercy, I received them with kindness; I conferred on them additional honours, and I drew the pen of oblivion over their evil actions. And I treated them in such sort, that if suspicion remained in their hearts, it was plucked out entirely.

SEVENTHLY, I selected out, and treated with esteem and veneration, the posterity of the Prophet, and the Theologians, and the Teachers of the true Faith, and the Philosophers, and the Historians. And I loved

† In this observation he alludes to a too frequent custom of the East, of involving the whole family and connections of an attainted person in the same punishment with the guilty subject.

تنگري تعالي شجاع را دوست ميدارد و با علما صحبت داشتم و بر دلهاي اصحاب قلوب رفتم و از ايشان دريوزه همت نمودم و از انعام متبرکه ايشان التماس فاتحه کردم و درويشان و فقر را دوست داشتم و ايشان را آزاده و مجرور نساختم و اشرار و بدکويان را در مجلس خود راه ندادم و بسخن ايشان عمل نکردم و بدکوي، ايشان را در حق هيچکس نشنيدم

هشتم بعزيمت عمل کردم و بر هر کاري که عازم مي شدم همان کار پيش نهاد همت خود ميساختم و تا با تمام نپرسانيديم دست از آن کار باز نپيداشتم و بر گفتار خود عامل مي بودم و بر هيچکس سخت نکردم و هيچ کاري را به تنگي نیکردم تا تنگري تعالي بر من سخت نکيرد و کار من بر من تنگ نسازد

و توانين و سيرت سلاطين گذشته را از آدم تا خاتم و از خاتم تا اين دم از دانايان پرسش نمودم و سلوک و معاش و افعال و اقوال يکان يکان را بخاطر آوردم و از اخلاق حسنه و صفات پسنديده ايشان نسخه برداشتم و سبب زوال دولتهاي ايشان پرسش نمودم

men of courage and valour; for God Almighty loveth the brave. And I associated with good and learned men; and I gained their affections, and I entreated their support, and I sought success from their holy Prayers. And I loved the Dervishes, and the poor; and I oppressed them not, neither did I exclude them from my favour. And I permitted not the evil and the malevolent to enter into my council; and I acted not by their advice: and I listened not to their insinuations to the prejudice of others. Book II.

EIGHTHLY, I acted with resolution; and on whatever undertaking I resolved, I made that undertaking the only object of my attention: and I withdrew not my hand from that enterprise, until I had brought it to a conclusion. And I acted according to that which I said. And I dealt not with severity towards any one, and I was not oppressive in any of my actions; that God Almighty might not deal severely towards me, nor render my own actions oppressive unto me.

AND I enquired of learned men into the laws and regulations of antient princes, from the days of Adam to those of the prophet, and from the days of the Prophet down to this time. And I weighed their institutions, and their actions, and their opinions, one by one. And from their approved manners, and their good qualities, I selected models. And I enquired into the causes of the subversion of their power, and I shunned those actions

نبودم و آنچه موجب زوال و انتقال دولت بود از آن  
اجتناب کردم و از ظلم و فسق که انقطاع نسل میکند  
و قحط و وبا می آرد احتراز لازم دانستم

نهم از احوال رعیت آگاه شدم و کلانان  
ایشان را بمنزله برادر و خوردان ایشان را بجای فرزند  
دانستم و بر مزاج و طبایع هر ملک و هر شهر خود را  
و افق ساختن و به اهالی و اکابر و اشراف اشنای  
کردم و موافق مزاج و طبیعت و خواهش ایشان بر  
ایشان حاکم تعیین نمودم

و از احوال اهالی هر دیار آگاه می بودم  
و اخبار نویسندگان را با دیانت در هر مملکت  
تعیین کردم که کیفیت اطوار و اوضاع و اعمال  
و افعال سپاه و رعیت را و مواعی که در میان ایشان  
بوقوع آید بنویسند و اگر خلاف آنچه نوشته  
بودند بر من ظاهر می شد اخبار نویسندگان را  
سیاست می نمودم و آنچه از ظلم و جور حاکم و سپاه  
و رعیت می شنیدم تدارک آنرا بانصاف و عدالت  
می کردم

دهم

actions which tend to the destruction and overthrow of Book II.  
regal authority. And from cruelty and from oppression, which are the destroyers of posterity, and the bringers of famine and of plagues, I found it was good to abstain.

NINTHLY, the situation of my people was known unto me. And those who were great among them, I considered as my brethren; and I regarded the poor as my children. And I made myself acquainted with the tempers and the dispositions of the people of every country and of every city. And I contracted intimacies with the citizens, and the chiefs, and the nobles; and I appointed over them governors adapted to their manners, and their dispositions, and their wishes.

AND I knew the circumstances of the inhabitants of every province. And in every kingdom I appointed writers of intelligence, men of truth and integrity, that they might send me information of the conduct, and the behaviour, and the actions, and the manners, of the troops and of the inhabitants, and of every occurrence that might come to pass amongst them. And if I discovered ought contrary to their information, I inflicted punishment on the intelligencer; and every circumstance of cruelty and oppression in the governors, and in the troops, and in the inhabitants, which reached my ear, I chastised agreeably to justice and equity.

Y

TENTHLY,



دهم هر طایفه وهر قبیله از ترک و تاجک  
و عرب و عجم که بدولتخانه من در آمدند بزرگان  
ایشان را گرامی داشتم و سایر ایشانرا فراخور احوال  
نوازش نمودم و به نیکان ایشان نیکی کردم و بدان  
ایشانرا به بدی ایشان سپردم

و هر کس بمن دوستی کرد قدر دوستی  
ویرا فراموش نکردم و بوی مروت و احسان نمودم و هر کس  
خدمت من کرد حق خدمت ویرا ادا کردم و هر  
کس بمن دشمنی کرد و پشیمان شده بمن التجا  
آورد و زانوزد دشمنی ویرا فراموش کردم و بدوستی  
و مروت خریدار وی شدم

چنانچه شیر بهرام امیر الوس بمن همراه  
بود و در وقت کار مرا گذاشت و بغنیم ملحق شد  
و بر من شمشیر کشید و آخر نهک من ویرا گرفت  
و باز بمن التجا آورد و زانوزد چون مردی بود اصیل  
و مردانه و کار کرده از کردارها بد وی چشم پوشیدم  
و ویرا بنواختم و بر مرتبه وی افزودم و ویرا بپردانگی  
وی بخشیدم

یازدهم

TENTHLY, whatever tribe, and whatever Book II.  
hord, whether Toork or Taucheek, or Arrub or Ajjum,  
came in unto me, I received their chiefs with distinction  
and respect, and their followers I honoured according to  
their degrees and their stations. And to the good among  
them I did good, and the evil I delivered over to their  
evil actions.

AND whoever attached himself unto me, I  
forgot not the merit of his attachment, and I acted to-  
wards him with kindness and generosity: and whoever  
had rendered me services, I repaid the value of those ser-  
vices unto him. And whoever had been my enemy, and  
was ashamed thereof, and flying to me for protection,  
humbled himself before me, I forgot his enmity; and I  
purchased him with liberality and kindness.

IN such manner Share Behraum, the chief  
of a tribe, was along with me. And he left me in the  
hour of action, and he united with the enemy, and he  
drew forth his sword against me. And at length my salt,  
which he had eaten, seized upon him; and he again fled  
to me for refuge, and humbled himself before me. As  
he was a man of illustrious descent, and of bravery, and  
of experience, I covered my eyes from his evil actions;  
and I magnified him, and I exalted him to a superior  
rank; and I pardoned his disloyalty in consideration of  
his valour.

یازدهم فرزندان و خویشان و آشنایان  
و همسایگان و کسانی که با من آشنایی داشتند ایشانرا  
در وقت دولت و نعمت بنواختم و حق ایشان را ادا  
کردم و با فرزندان و خویشان قطع صلہء رحم نمودم  
و بکشتن و بستن ایشان امر نکردم

و هر کس را بهر طرزی شناخته بودم فراخور  
شناخت خود بوی سلوک نمودم چون کرم و سرر  
روزگار بسیار دیدم و تجربہا برداشتم با دوست و دشمن  
سازکارها کردم

دوازدهم سپاه دوست و دشمن را عزیز  
داشتیم که متاع باقی خود را بهال فانی میفروشدند  
و در معارک و مهالک خود را می اندازند و جان  
فشان میبایند

و مردی که از جانب دشمن با من  
خصمی گرد و شمشیر کشید و نسبت با ولی نعمت  
خود راسخ الاعتقاد بود و مرا بسیار دوست داشتم و چون  
بزدل من آمد قدر ویزا دانسته معتد خود ساختم  
و بوقا و حقیقت ویرا شناختم

† Timour appears to allude to those persons whom he knew in the days of his obscurity.

و آن

ELEVENTHLY, my children, and my relations, and my associates, and my neighbours, and such as had been connected with me, † all these I distinguished in the days of my fortune and prosperity, and I paid unto them their due. And with respect to my family, I rent not asunder the bands of consanguinity and mercy; and I issued not commands to slay them, or to bind them with chains. †.

AND I dealt with every man, whatever the judgment I had formed of him, according to my own opinion of his worth. As I had seen much of prosperity and adversity, and had acquired knowledge and experience, I conducted myself with caution, and with policy, towards my friends and towards my enemies.

TWELFTHLY, soldiers, whether associates or adversaries, I held in esteem; those who sell their permanent happiness to perishable honour, and throw themselves into the field of slaughter and battle, and hazard their lives in the hour of danger.

AND the man, who drew his sword on the side of my enemy, and committed hostilities against me, and preserved his fidelity to his master, him I greatly honoured; and when such a man came unto me, knowing his worth, I classed him with my faithful associates; and I respected and valued his fidelity and his attachment.

† This observation is strictly consistent with his conduct: for though several of his relations, and some of his children, at different times rebelled against him, he ever substituted *pardon* in the place of *punishment*.

AND

وآن سپاهی که حق نبک و وفا داری را  
 فراموش کرد و وقت کار از صاحب خود رو گردان  
 شد و نزد من آمد و مرا دشمنترین مردم دانستم  
 و در جنگ توتبش خان امرای وی  
 بمن پیغامها کردند و عرایض نوشتند و حق نبک  
 توتبش خان را که صاحب ایشان و دشمن من بود  
 فراموش کردند بر ایشان نفرین کردم که حق ولی  
 نعمت خود را فراموش کرده حقیقت و وفارا بر کوشه  
 نهاده اند و نزد من آمدند با خود گفتم که با مری  
 خود چه وفا کردند که با من خواهند کرد

و چون بتجربه من رسید که هر دولتی  
 که به دینی و آیینی قائم نباشد و بتوره و تزوک استوار  
 نبود شکوه و سطوت و بند و بست از آن سلطنت برخیزد  
 و آن سلطنت مثل مردی برهنه باشد که هر کس و مرا  
 به بیند چشم بپوشد و چون خانه باشد که سقفی  
 و در و دریند نداشته باشد و کس ناکس در آن داخل  
 توانند شد

بدین جهت بنای سلطنت خود را به  
 دین و آیین اسلام و به توره و تزوک استحکام دادم  
 و وقایع و اموری که مرا در سلطنت پیش می  
 آمد

AND the soldier, who forgot his duty and his honour, and in the hour of action turned his face from his master, and came in unto me, I considered as the most detestable of men. Book II.

AND in the war with Touktummish Khaun, his Ameers forgot their duty to Touktummish, who was their master and my foe, and sent proposals and wrote letters unto me. And I uttered execrations upon them; because unmindful of that which they owed to their lord, they had thrown aside their honour and their duty, and come in unto me. I said unto myself, What fidelity have they observed to their liege lord? What fidelity will they shew unto me?

AND, behold, it was known unto me by experience, that every empire, which is not established in morality and religion, nor strengthened by regulations and laws, from that empire all order, grandeur and power shall pass away. And that empire may be likened unto a naked man, who, when exposed to view, commandeth the eye of modesty to be covered: and it is like unto a house, which hath neither roof, nor gates, nor defences; into which, whoever willeth, may enter unmolested.

THEREFORE, I established the foundation of my empire on the morality and the religion of Islaum; and by regulations, and laws I gave it stability. And by laws and by regulations, I executed every business and every

آمد بتوره و تزوک آن کار را انجام میدادم

و اول تزوک که از مشرق دلم سرزد  
رواج دین و تقویت شریعت محمدی بود صلی الله  
علیه وسلم و در مهالک و اقطار و امصار عالم دین اسلام  
و شریعت خیر الانام را رواج دادم و سلطنت خود را  
بشریعت آراسته ساختم

تزوک رواج دین مبین چنین کردم که  
یکی از سادات زی قدر را بصدارت اهل اسلام مقرر  
کردم که ضبط اوقات نماید و متولیان تعیین کند  
و بهر شهری و بلدی اقصی القضاة و مفتی و محتسب  
معین سازد و سیورغال و وظایف از برای سادات و علما  
و مشایخ و ارباب استحقاق مقرر گردانند

و قاضی از برای عسکر و قاضی  
از برای رعیت نصب نمودم و بهر مملکتی

† The man appointed to fill the station mentioned in the original, is called *Sadr*. He is a person of great authority in the empire, who has the absolute

every transaction that came before me in the course of Book II.  
my government.

AND the first regulation which my heart dictated unto me, was the promulgation of the true faith, and the support of the sacred tenets of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him). And I encouraged the progress of the holy laws and the religion of Islam through all the cities, and the provinces, and the kingdoms of the earth; and I adorned my empire by the sacred laws.

THUS I regulated the promulgation of the true faith. I appointed a man of holiness, † and of illustrious dignity, to watch over the conduct of the faithful, that he might regulate the manners of the times, and appoint superiors in holy offices; and establish in every city and in every town a judge of penetration, and a doctor learned in the sacred law, and a supervisor of the markets, of the weights and of the measures: and that he might ordain pensions and salaries for the descendants of the prophet, and for superior ecclesiastics, and for holy men, and for men of knowledge.

AND I established a judge for the army and a judge for the subjects: and I sent into every province

absolute management of church lands, and what revenues are appropriated towards the maintaining of public schools, salaries to learned men, and other pious uses.

Z

and



شیخ الاسلامی فرستادم که اهل اسلام از معاصی باز  
دارد و امر معروف نباید

و امر کردم که در هر شهری مساجد  
و خانقاهها تعمیر نمایند و بر سر راهها رباطات بنا کنند  
و بر نهرها پل بر بندند

و علما و مدرسان بهر شهری تعیین کردم  
که اهل اسلام را مسایل دینی و عقاید شرعی تعلیم  
دهند و علم دین از تفسیر و حدیث و فقه بهسلطانان  
درس گویند

و امر نمودم که صدر وقاضی مهابت  
شرعی ممالک محروسه را بعرض من میرسانیده  
باشند و امیر عدل تعیین نمودم که مرافعات عرفی  
سپاه و رعیت را بعرض رساند

چون تزوک دین نمودم و در بلاد اسلام  
شریعت را رواج دادم و چون آوازه رواج دین و اسلام  
بهسماع صغار و کبار اهل اسلام رسید علای اسلام  
فتوی نوشتند — که چون الله تعالی در هر  
صد سال مروجی و مجددی از برای رواج  
و تجدید

and kingdom an instructor in the law, to deter the faithful from those things which are forbidden, and to lead them in the truth. Book II.

AND I commanded that they should build places of worship and monasteries in every city ; and that they should erect structures for the reception of travellers on the high roads, and that they should make bridges across the rivers.

AND I appointed ecclesiastics and religious teachers in every city, to instruct the followers of Islaum in the abstruse and fundamental principles of our holy law ; and to preach to them the doctrines of religion, with the holy traditions, and the sacred commentaries upon them.

AND I ordered that the suddur † and the judge, from time to time, should lay before me all the ecclesiastical affairs of my empire ; and I appointed a judge in equity, that he might transmit unto me all civil matters of litigation, that came to pass amongst my troops and my subjects.

WHEN I had regulated all religious concerns, and had promoted the progress of the sacred tenets throughout the cities of Islaum ; and when the rumour of the promulgation of the true faith had reached the ears of all ranks of the faithful ; the doctors of our holy faith published a decree — That as Almighty God in each century had sent a promoter and propagator of the faith,

† Or *Sadr*: see note on p. 177.

و تجدید دین محمدی صلی الله علیه وسلم بر  
می انگیزد و درین صد هشتم تجدید دین را  
امیر صاحب قرآن نبوده پس مجدد دین محمدی  
ایشان باشند

و میر سید شریف که از فحول علمای  
زمان بود درین باب مکتوبی بهین نوشت — که  
اتفاق علمای خلف و سلف برین رفته که در سر  
هر صد سال از حضرت رسالت پناه الله تعالی از برای  
رواج دین محمدی صلی الله علیه وسلم مجددی  
می انگیزد و چون درین سر صد هشتم امیر  
صاحب قرآن دین متین را رواج داده اند و در اقطار  
و امصار عالم دین و اسلام رواج یافته بتحقیق رسید که  
مروج دین امیر صاحب قرآن است و صورت مکتوب  
اینست

که اللهم انصره من نصر دین محمد  
واخذل من خذل دین محمد  
چون از زمان هجرت حضرت رسالت  
یفاه الی یومنا هذا هشت صد سال گذشته و در سر  
هر

for the promulgation and restoration of the religion of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him); and as in the eighth century AMEER SAUHIRA KURRAUN† hath restored the purity of the holy laws, he therefore must be THE RESTORER OF THE RELIGION OF MAHUMMUD. Book II.

AND Meer Siud Shurreef, the most respectable of the doctors of the age, wrote unto me on this subject, saying, 'The holy men of all ages have agreed, that in every century from the days of the prophet, Almighty God hath sent forth a propagator of the faith, for the purpose of promulgating the religion of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him): and since in the beginning of this the eighth century, Ameer Sauhira Kurraun, hath propagated the laws of the holy prophet, and the true religion hath been diffused throughout the different cities and kingdoms of the earth; it is apparent that Ameer Sauhira Kurraun is the true promoter and supporter of the faith.' And the Letter is this.

"O God assist thou the promoter of the religion of thy prophet, and abandon thou the deserter of the faith of Mahummud.

"SINCE from the time of the Hijrut of the great and holy apostle down to the present period 800 years have elapsed, and since the pure and omnipotent

† *Sauhira Kurraun* is a royal title first assumed by Timour. It literally signifies *Lord of the Conjunction*; it being said, that there was a fortunate conjunction of planets at his birth.

هر صد سال الله تعالي و تقدس از براي رواج دين  
 رسول و حبيب خود مروجي و مجددي بر انگيخته  
 كه تجديد دين و ملت آنحضرت نهايد الحمد لله  
 كه در سر صد هشتم الله تعالي امير صاحب قران را  
 مجدد و مروج دين اسلام بر انگيخته كه دين  
 محيدي را در بلاد و ممالك رواج داده اند

و از آنچه علماي سلف از احوال مجددان  
 دين تتبع نهوده در تصانيف خود نوشته اند اين اثير  
 از آنست  
 كه در سر مائه اول از هجرت مجدد  
 دين عمر عبد العزيز است كه چون دين اسلام  
 بواسطه طعن و لعن كه خوارج بر منابر بر حضرت علي  
 مي گفتند ضعيف شده بود بر طرف ساخت  
 و بغض و عداوتي كه ميان اهل اسلام  
 بوقوع آمده بود چنانچه گروهی خلفاء راشدين را  
 لعن و طعن مخصوص ميداشتند و جمعي ديگر بر  
 امير المومنين علي و حسين و عباس لعن ميكردند و با  
 يكديگر در مقام تعصب و تقاضست مي بودند رفع  
 نبود و تجديد دين كرد

و در

Creator hath in each century inspired and sent forth a promoter and restorer of religion, for the advancement of the faith of his messenger and friend, and the re-establishment of his sacred doctrines; praise be to the most high! that in the beginning of this the eighth century Ameer Sauhiba Kurraun, who hath encouraged and established the holy religion of Mahummud in various nations and regions of the earth, is by the Almighty evidently appointed the restorer and promoter of the faith of Islaum.

“ FROM all that former Theologians have discovered and inserted in their works concerning the promoters of our holy faith, the following are selections.

“ IN the FIRST CENTURY from the Hijrut Omur Abdul Azeez stood forth the supporter of the faith. For when the holy religion of Islaum was weakened by the revilings of the schismatics, who dared to execrate from their pulpits the most excellent Aali, he abolished that profane practice.

“ AND whereas divisions and hatred had sprung up amongst the followers of Islaum, so that one faction fulminated curses on the three orthodox Khalifs, whilst their opponents denounced execrations on Aali (the commander of the faithful) on Hoossein and on Ubbaus; and at length proceeded to open dissensions and hostilities; he put an end to those divisions, and by so doing gave strength to our holy law.

AND

و در سر مایه دوم مجدد دین مامون  
 الرشید است که هفتاد دو مذهب باطله را بر طرف  
 و منسوخ ساخته مذهب بر حق سنت و جماعت را رواج  
 داد و علی ابن موسی جعفر را رضی الله عنهم از  
 خراسان طلب نمود و ویرا ولی عهد گردانید و باز  
 وی در مملکت تصرف می نمود

و در سر مایه سیوم مروج دین محمدی  
 صلی الله علیه وسلم مقتدر بالله عباسی است که  
 چون قوم قرامطه که رئیس ایشان ابو طاهر بود بر مکه  
 معظمه مستولی شد و سی هزار محرم را در روز عرفه  
 قتل نموده بدرجه شهادت رسانید و حجر الاسود را  
 از ابرکان خانه کعبه برکند و بلاد اسلام خراب کرده  
 قتل و غارت مینمود و بدین جهت دین اسلام ضعیف  
 شد مقتدر باللسه بر آن قوم لشکر کشید و ایشانرا  
 برانداخت و دین اسلام و شریعت را رواج داد

و در سر مایه چهارم از مروجان دین محمدی  
 صلی الله علیه وسلم عضد الدوله دیلمی است که  
 چون

“ AND the supporter of the faith in the **SE-** Book II.  
**COND CENTURY** was Maumoon ul Rusheed. For he  
 abrogated and annulled seventy two pernicious and unorthodox tenets, and established the true rites and ceremonies on the faith of the Sunna, and on the sacred traditions. And he called Aali, the son of Moofi Jaufir (on whom be the blessing of God) from Khoraufaun ; and appointed him successor to the Immaumut, and with his consent took possession of the government.

“ AND in the **THIRD CENTURY** Mocktaudir Billau Ubbausi was the promoter of the faith. For when the sect of the Kuraumuteh, headed by Abou Tauhir, seized the holy city of Mecca, and martyred 30,000 pilgrims on mount Auruffaut ; when that impious chief caused the Black Stone to be torn from the corner of the sacred Caaba, desolated the cities of Islaum, and plundered and slaughtered the inhabitants (by which a mighty blow was given to our holy religion) Mocktaudir Billau drew forth his armies against that abandoned sect, and extirpated them from the face of the earth : and thus supported and defended the laws and the faith of Islaum.

“ AND in the **FOURTH CENTURY** Azzud u Dowla Delumi was the supporter of the religion of Mahummud, on whom be God's peace and blessing. For when, on



چون بواسطه فسق و فجور مطيع لامر الله عباسي  
وظلم توابع ولواحق وي دين اسلام ضعيف شده بود  
و در بلاد اسلام انواع فسق و منهيات شيوع يافته بود  
عضد الدوله ويرا از خلافت عزل نمود و پسر وي طالع  
بالله ولي عهد ساخت

و عضد الدوله خود متصدي رواج دين  
شد و زرع و دفع بدعت و نا مشروعات و ظلم و جور نموده  
شريعت محمدي را رواج داد

و در سر مايه پنجم مروج دين و شريعت  
سلطان سنجر ابن سلطان ملكشاه است كه شيخ  
احمد جامي و حكيم سنائي معاصر وي بوده و او  
بدیشان مريد بود درين ايام ملاحده و جهال دين  
اسلام را ضعيف ساخته بودند وي بقتل و قبح ملاحده  
مبادرت نمود و بهر تبه در اطاعت و متابعت دين محمدي  
صلي الله عليه وسلم مبالغه مينمود كه خلاف  
شريعت از وي امري سر نميزد

و در سر مايه ششم مجدد دين غازان  
خان بن ارغون خان بن هلاكو خانست كه چون  
دين اسلام بواسطه استيلاي كفره تركستان ضعيف  
شد

account of the wickedness and corruption of Muttei la- Book II.  
 umurilla Ubbaufi, and the oppressions and persecutions  
 exercised by his servants and dependants, our holy religion  
 was neglected, and corruption and impiety became noto-  
 rious in the cities of Islaum; Azzud u Dowla deposed  
 him from the Khillaufut, placed his son Taulaa Billau on  
 the vacant throne, and by his exertions re-established the  
 true faith.

AND Azzud u Dowla abolished innovations  
 and things unlawful, stopped the current of injustice and  
 oppression, and thus supported the holy laws of Ma-  
 hummud.

AND Sooltaun Sunjur, the son of Sooltaun  
 Mullik Shaah, and the contemporary and disciple of Sheikh  
 Ahmud Jaumi and Hukkeem Sunai, was the promoter  
 of the faith and the laws in the FIFTH CENTURY. For  
 he extirpated the heretics who in those days had weakened  
 the faith of Islaum; and paid such pious obedience to the  
 holy doctrines of Mahummud (God's peace be upon him)  
 that in the period of his life he was not guilty of one  
 action prohibited by the sacred laws.

IN the SIXTH CENTURY the supporter of the  
 faith was Ghauzaun Khaun the son of Arghoon Khaun,  
 the son of Hullaukoo Khaun. For when the holy re-  
 ligion was almost annihilated by the conquests of the in-  
 fidels of Toorkistaun, Ghauzaun Khaun with one hun-

شد الله تعالی غازان خانرا با صد هزار ترک  
بر انگیخت که همگی بیک مرتبه در صحرای لار  
بدست شیخ ابراهیم حبوی ایپان آورده مسلمان  
شدند و زیان بکلمه لا اله الا الله و محمد رسول الله  
گویا ساختند

و آثار کفر و بدعت بر انداختند و شریعت را  
در بلاد و امصار رواج دادند

و در سر مایه هفتم الجایتو سلطان بن  
ارغون خان است که ملقب بسطان محمد خدا بنده  
شد که در سنه مذکور بعد از برادرش غازان خان  
بر تخت سلطنت نشست و چون به سامع وی رسید  
که دین محمدی بهرتبه ضعیفی شده که در نیاز  
بعد از تشهد صلوات بر محمد و بر آل محمد نمیفرستند  
خود برخاسته به مسجد جامع سلطانیه حاضر آمد و حکم  
یا حضار علمای اسلام نمود

از فضایل در باب صلوات فرستادن  
بر پیغمبر و آل پیغمبر سوال نمود علما با اتفاق گفتند  
که بحکم خدای تعالی صلوات بر محمد و بر آل  
محمد باید فرستاد

و درین

dred thousand Toorks (such was the will of the Almighty) were at one time converted to the Mahummudan faith by Sheikh Ibraheem Hummuee in the plain of Laur; and joined in the sacred exclamation, "There is no God but God, and Mahummud is the Apostle of God." Book II.

"AND Ghauzaun Khaun rooted out idolatry and heresy; and established the holy laws amongst the surrounding nations.

"THE supporter of the faith in the SEVENTH CENTURY was Aljaustob Seeltaun, the son of Arghoon Khaun, who was also named Sultaun Mahummud Khodau Bundeh. For when he succeeded his brother Ghauzaun Khaun at the above period, and was informed that the duties of our holy religion were neglected to such a degree, that the people, after the profession of their faith, did not include the posterity of Mahummud in their blessings and benedictions on that holy prophet; he himself arose and went forth to the imperial Musjid, and commanded the Theologians to be assembled before him.

"AND he demanded of the doctors of the law the cause of this omission; and ordered them to deliver their sentiments concerning the propriety or impropriety of including the sacred posterity of the prophet in their prayers. They replied with one accord, that by the express command of Almighty God the prayers of the faithful were due not only to the holy messenger, but to his descendants also.

SEVERAL

و درین وقت جمعی از علما گفتند که  
 امام شافعی نیازا بدون صلوات بر محمد و آل محمد  
 فاسد شهره و جمعی گفتند که امام اعظم فرمود  
 که نیازی که بصلوات بر محمد و آل محمد مقرون  
 نباشد مکروه است

آنکه از علما سوال کرد که چرا  
 بر هر یک از آل وی در صلوات ذکر نمیکنند و در  
 صلوات بر خاتم انبیا ذکر میکنند چون علما در  
 جواب فرو ماندند سلطان گفت

ما در جواب این سوال دو دلیل بخاطر  
 میبرند اول آنکه چون دشمنان ویرا ابتر خوانند  
 ایزد تعالی ابتری را بر ایشان انداخت که نسل  
 ایشان منقطع شده و اگر باشد هم ایشانرا کسی  
 نشناسد و نام نبرد و ذریت آل پیغمبر آن قدر بهم رسیدند  
 که تعداد ایشان را جز خدای تعالی دیگری نداند  
 و در صلوات بهتبع پیغمبر صلی الله علیه و سلم بر  
 ایشان درود میفرستند

دیگر آنکه ادیان جمیع انبیا و رسل  
 و عمل ایشان در معرض نسخ و تبدل بود و امضای  
 احکام

“SEVERAL of the doctors said, that Immaum Book II.  
 Shaufei had declared, that the sacred service unattended by  
 the usual benedictions on Mahummud and his posterity,  
 were impious. Others acknowledged, that Immaum a  
 Aazum had pronounced the prayers, in which the usual  
 petitions in behalf of Mahummud and his posterity were  
 omitted, to be void and of no effect.

“HE then demanded of them, why, when  
 they mentioned the prophet in their prayers, they inclu-  
 ded not his immediate descendants. The doctors of the  
 law were unable to reply, and the Sooltaun proceeded.

“IN proof of the necessity of including the  
 successors and posterity of the prophet in our prayers two  
 arguments occur to me. First, that as the wicked ex-  
 cluded the descendants and successors of our holy lawgiver  
 from the benefit of their benedictions, so Almighty God  
 hath excluded them from the benefit of his protection, and  
 hath cut off their posterity from the face of the earth :  
 for if any of their descendants remain, none know them,  
 none regard them : whereas the posterity of the prophet  
 are increased to such a degree, that no one except the Al-  
 mighty knoweth their numbers, and those in respect and  
 obedience to the holy apostle (on whom be the blessing of  
 God), still offer up their prayers for his immediate descen-  
 dants.

“SECONDLY, the religious rites and insti-  
 tutions of all former prophets and messengers have been  
 either altered or annulled ; for the rules prescribed by the  
 religions

احکام دین ایشان علی السدوام لازم نبود  
مخلاف دین محمدی صلی الله علیه وسلم که تا  
قیامت تغیر و تبدیل در آن راه نخواهد یافت

پس بر متابعان آنحضرت لازم باشد که  
در صلوات بهتبع نام مبارک آنحضرت را ذکر میکنند  
اولاد را نیز ذکر کنند تا بر امت معلوم شود که  
حامیان دین محمدی و مفسران وحی الهی و حافظان  
شریعت احمدی ایشانند و وراث علوم انبیا و مرسلین  
اند و علوم دین و فرائض اسلام از ایشان فرا گیرند  
و متابعت و حرمت ایشانرا از لوازم شمارند

چون سلطان این کلمات را بر زبان راند  
خلایقی که در مسجد جمع آمده بودند بیک مرتبه  
زبان بصلوات پیغمبر و آل پیغمبر کشادند

آنکاه سلطان گفت که چون اول آل  
محمد علی و آخر ایشان محمد محمدی موعود است  
پس ما را است که در ملک محمد بدون اذن  
اولادش تصرف ننمایم و اگر نمایم غاصب  
باشم

چون

religions which they established were not adapted to all Book II.  
times and to all situations. On the contrary, the religion  
of Mahummud (the peace of God be upon him) will  
continue, without change or abolition, to the end of time.

“IT is the duty therefore of the followers  
of our holy prophet, who in their prayers respectfully  
mention his name, to include his descendants also : that  
it may be known to the people that they are the supporters  
of the religion of Mahummud, the expounders of the  
divine revelations, the guardians of the holy law, and the  
heirs of the prophets and apostles : that the knowledge  
of the true religion and the divine ordinances of Islaum  
may be perpetuated by them, and that obedience and res-  
pect to the descendants of the prophet may be considered  
as an indisputable and important duty.

“WHEN the Sooltaun had concluded, the  
people who were collected together in the Musjid, in-  
stantly and with one voice, offered up their benedictions  
in favour of the prophet and his sacred descendants.

“THE Sooltaun proceeded thus. “Since Aali  
has been acknowledged to be the first, and Mahummud  
Mehdi the last, of the successors and immediate descen-  
dants of the prophet, it cannot be lawful for me to assume  
authority over the dominions of the holy Mahummud  
without the assent of his and their posterity ; since by so  
doing I should be an usurper.”

B b

WHEN



چون کلمات سلطان بیسماع خاص  
 برام رسید همه علما ازعان نبودند بعد ازعان علما  
 سلطان امر نمود که چون حقیقت پرین منوال است  
 یابید که خطبه تها اهل بیت بخوانند و سکه بنام  
 ایشان برزنند

وانچه علما درین وقت فتوی نوشته ازعان  
 تهره اند این است که الجایتو سلطان مروج دین  
 و شریعت اند

در سر مایه هشتم امیر صاحب قران است  
 که در امصار و اقطار عالم شریعت را رواج داده و سادات  
 و علما را اعزاز و احترام نموده و باذن ذریت آل رسول الله  
 در ملک او تصرف کرده اند

چون مکتوب میر سید شریف بهمن  
 رسید تنکری تعالی را شکر گفتم و بحمد و آل  
 محمد التجا بر دم که مرا توفیق تجدید دین  
 و شریعت حاصل آید

و مکتوب را

“WHEN this declaration of the Sooltaun reached the ears of the people, those of the posterity of the prophet immediately granted their consent. Having thus obtained their approbation of his authority, the Sooltaun ordained that agreeably to this regulation, the Khutbah should be pronounced from the pulpits in the names of each of the successors of the prophet, and that their names also should be impressed on the coins of the empire. Book II.

“THE ecclesiastical decree which the theologians promulgated on this occasion, and to which they subscribed their assent, is as follows, “Aljaetoo Sooltaun “is the supporter of the faith, and the restorer of the “laws.”

“IN this the eighth century AMEER SAUHIBA KURRAUN IS THE SUPPORTER OF OUR SACRED RELIGION; since he hath revived and encouraged obedience to the holy laws in the different cities and nations of the earth, hath protected and revered the posterity of the prophet of God, and with their assent and approbation hath assumed dominion over the empire of Mahummud.”

WHEN the letter of Meer Siud Shureef came unto me, I offered up thanks to Almighty God, and I invoked the holy Mahummud and the descendants of Mahummud, that I might obtain their guidance and support in promoting our holy faith and in establishing the laws.

و مکتوب را بجنس نزد پیر خود فرستادم  
ایشان بر حاشیه همان مکتوب نوشتند که مروج  
الدین و الشریعت تیمور صاحب قران ایده الله تعالی  
معلوم نباید که این موهبتی است عظمی و تاییدی  
است کبری که آن قطب السلطنت را الله تعالی  
توفیق تجدید دین و رواج شریعت ارزانی داشته  
پیغرا تا بیغزایند

چون مکتوب موشح بخط پیر من بمن  
رسید تعظیم و احترام سادات و علمای اسلام بجا آوردم  
و در رواج شریعت پیشتر از پیشتر سعی کردم و امر  
کردم که صورت این مکتوب را در دفتر وقایع من  
ثبت نمایند

چون تزوک دین و شریعت کردم شروع  
در تزک کارخانه سلطنت خود نمودم و به توره و تزوک  
مراتب سلطنت خود نگاهداشتم تزک نگاهداشت  
مراتب سلطنت خود را برین نهج کردم  
اول قواعد سلطنت خود را بدین اسلام  
و شریعت خیر الانام و محبت آل و اصحاب واجب الاحترام  
آنحضرت

AND the Letter itself I sent unto my PEER, Book II.  
 who wrote thus on the border of that Letter. “ Be it  
 “ known to Ameer Sauhiba Kurraun, the promoter of  
 “ the faith, the establiſher of the laws (with whom be  
 “ the protection of Almighty God) that this is a blessing  
 “ extraordinary, and a mercy inconceivable, which the  
 “ omnipotent creator hath vouchsafed to thee, the axis of  
 “ empire, in appointing thee the re-establiſher of the  
 “ faith, and the supporter of the sacred laws. Encrease  
 “ thou the number of thy good actions, that thy benevo-  
 “ lent creator may encrease his mercies unto thee !”

WHEN the epistle, bearing the subscription of my PEER, was returned unto me, I revered and respected the posterity of the prophet, and the teachers of the doctrine of Islaum; and in enforcing the sacred laws I exerted myself more than before. And I commanded that the substance of the letter should be inserted in the register of my transactions.

WHEN I re-established the faith and the holy laws, I then began to form my civil regulations; and by law and by order I strengthened my government. And the regulations for giving stability to my government, I formed in this manner.

FIRST, I kept firm the foundation of my power by the true religion, and by the laws of the prophet, and by the love of the descendants and venerable  
 compa-

آنحضرت استوار داشتیم و حفظ مرتبه سلطنت خود بتوره  
و تروک چنان کردم که احدی را یارای نبود که در  
سلطنت من دخل تواند کرد

دوم سپاه و رعیت را در مرتبه امید و بیم  
نکاهداشتیم و دوست و دشمن را در مرتبه مروت و مدارا  
داشته کردار و گفتار ایشانرا به تحکم و تغافل در  
گذرالیدم

و هرکس از دوست و دشمن که التجا  
بین آوردند دوستان را در مرتبه نکاهداشتیم که بر  
دوستی خود افزودند و با دشمنان بهر تبه سلوک نمودم  
که دشمنی را بدوستی مبدل ساختند

و هرکس را بر من حقی بود حق ویرا  
ضایع نساختیم و هرکس را بر وی شناختم ویرا از نظر  
تینداختم

و هرکس از اوان طلوع دولت و سلطنت  
من بین التجاء ورده بودند از نیکو کار و بد کردار  
خواه بین نیکی کرده بودند خواه بدی چون بر  
تخت سلطنت نشستیم ایشانرا شرمنده احسان خود  
ساختیم و بدبهای که بین کرده بودند نا کرده  
انکاشتیم و قلم عفو بر جریده اعمال ایشان کشیدیم

سپوم

companions of that holy legislator ; and by regulations Book II.  
and by order I so secured my regal authority, that no one  
had the power to interpose in my government.

SECONDLY, I kept my soldiers and my subjects suspended between hope and fear ; and conducting myself towards my friends and my enemies with gentleness and with humanity, I either over-looked or patiently bore with their words and their actions.

WHOEVER, whether friends or enemies, fled unto me for protection ; if they were friends, I treated them in such sort as tended to increase their friendship ; and if they were enemies, I so conducted myself towards them that their enmity was speedily converted into affection.

WHOEVER had a demand upon me, I attempted not to diminish the value thereof : and those whom I personally knew, I threw not forth from my presence.

AND whoever, from the first shining forth of my fortune and power, had sought my protection, whether worthy or unworthy, whether their conduct towards me had been good or evil, when I ascended the throne of empire, I caused them to blush by my bounty and kindness ; and I considered as undone the evil which they had done unto me, and I drew the pen of oblivion over the register of their actions.

THIRDLY,

سیوم در مقام انتقام هیچکس نشدم  
وانتقام نکشیدم و بد کنندگان خود را به پروردگار  
سپردم

ارباب شجاعت و مردان کارگرده، آزموده  
نگاهداشتم و مردم اصیل و سادات و علمای و فضلاء را  
بخود راه دادم و اشرار و بد نفسان و لیسان را از  
مجلس خود راندم

چهارم بگشاده روی، و رحم و شفقت  
خلق خدا را بخود رام کردم و بعدالت گزیدم  
و از ظلم و جور دوری گزیدم

درین وقت پیر من بن نوشت که ابو  
المنصور تیهور ایده الله تعالی را معلوم باد که کارخانه  
سلطنت نهونه از کارخانه الهی است که در آن  
عمله و فعله و نایبان و حجاب اند و هر یک در مرتبه خود  
بکار خود مشغول اند و از مرتبه خود تجاوز نمیکنند  
و منتظر امر الهی می باشند

پس ترا احتیاط باید که وزرا و لشکریان  
و عیالان و کارکنان و سپهسالاران هر یک در حد  
مرتبه

THIRDLY, I never gave way to the thirst of revenge, nor did I ever satiate my resentment on any one. Those who had injured me, I delivered over to the justice of the Almighty. Book II.

I retained in my service warriors of approved valour, and soldiers of tried experience. And I admitted to my society men of exalted lineage, and the posterity of the prophet, and theologians, and doctors learned in the law. And the seditious, and the wicked, and the inglorious I drove far from my presence.

FOURTHLY, I drew to me the obedience of the people of God by complacency, and by mercy, and by indulgence. And I ever adhered to equity and justice; and I retired far from cruelty and oppression.

AT this time my PEER wrote unto me, saying, "Be it known to Abu'l Munsour Timour (on whom be the blessing of Almighty God) that the different offices in an earthly empire are symbols of those in the empire of thy creator; in which there are labourers, and agents, and deputies, and chamberlains; and they are all busied and occupied in their own proper departments, and they seek not to over-leap the bounds allotted them; and they wait in perpetual obedience to the will of the Lord.

"THEREFORE, thou must be watchful, that thy vizzers, and thy soldiers, and thy labourers, and thy servants, and thy officers, being each of them

C c

"restricted



مرتبه خود بوده منتظر حکم تو باشند و هر  
طایفه و هر قوم را در مرتبه ایشان بدار تا مرتبه سلطنت  
تو بنظام وانتظام در آید

و اگر حفظ مراتب هر چیز و هر کس  
نکني بسي خلل و فساد در امور سلطنت راه یابد  
پس تراست که پایه قدر و منزلت هر چیز و هر کس  
نگاهداری

و مرتبه آل محمدا از جمیع مراتب برتر  
داری و تعظیم واحترام ایشان بجا آری و افراط را در  
محبت ایشان اسراف ندانی که هر چه از برای  
خدا باشد در آن اسراف نباشد به دوازده طایفه  
سلطنت خود را آراسته و پراسته بدار والسلام

چون این نامه پیر من بمن رسید هر چه  
فرموده بودند بجا آوردم و مراتب سلطنت خود را نسق  
و انتظام دارم و مرتبه سلطنت خود را به توره و تنوک  
زیب و زینت بخشیدم و بدوازده طایفه سلطنت خود را

استوار

“ restricted to their proper stations, attend with due sub- Book II.  
 “ mission thy commands. And restrain thou every  
 “ people and every tribe under thy dominion within their  
 “ proper limits : that thy empire may be established on  
 “ the basis of regularity and good order.

“ BUT if thou regardest not the due ar-  
 “ rangement of thy concerns, and attendest not to the  
 “ just subordination of thy people, corruption, and vio-  
 “ lence, and disorders shall find their way into every de-  
 “ partment of thy government. Be it therefore thy care  
 “ to watch over and confine thy people, and thy concerns,  
 “ within the limits of subordination and good order.

“ AND thou shalt exalt the sacred posterity  
 “ of the prophet above all other ranks of thy people ;  
 “ and thou shalt revere and honour them, and thou shalt  
 “ not consider the greatest instances of liberality, which  
 “ thy love for them shall call forth, as the effects of pro-  
 “ fusion. We cannot be profuse in our offerings to Al-  
 “ mighty God. Regulate and govern thou thy empire by  
 “ the TWELVE SELECT CLASSES ; and farewell.”

WHEN I received this letter from my PEER,  
 I acted in obedience to all which he had commanded,  
 and I gave order and connexion to the different depart-  
 ments of empire ; and I ornamented and beautified my  
 power by regulations and laws ; and I made my autho-  
 rity durable by the TWELVE CLASSES.

استوار ساختم      تنزوک مرتبه  
سلطنت وقواعد سلطنت خود را بدوازده طایفه مربوط  
ومضبوط ساختم واین دوازده طایفه را بهنزه دوازده برج  
فلک ودوازده ماه کارخانه سلطنت خود قرار دادم

اول طایفه      سادات وعلما مشایخ وفضلا را  
بخود راه دارم وهییشه ببارگاه من آمد شد  
می نمودند ومجلس مرا بزینت وزینت نگاه می داشتند  
ومسایل علوم دینی وحکمی وعقلی مذکور  
می ساختند ومسایل حلال وحرام از ایشان استفسار  
مینمودم

طایفه دوم      عقلا واصحاب کنکاش  
وارباب حزم واحتیاط ومردم کهنه سال پیش بین را  
در مجلس خاص خود را راه دارم وبایشان صحبت  
داشتم ونفع یافته تجربها حاصل میکردم

طایفه سیوم      ارباب دعا را کرامی داشتم  
ودر خلوت از ایشان دریوزه دعوات کرده مدعیان  
خود را استدعا مینمودم ودر مجالس ومحافل ویزم ورزم  
از

REGULATIONS. By the TWELVE CLASSES I Book II.  
 rendered strong and permanent the basis and superstructure  
 of my government ; and I considered those Classes as the  
 twelve months, and as the twelve signs of the zodiac, pre-  
 dominating over the concerns of my empire.

THE FIRST CLASS. I granted admis-  
 sion to the descendants of the prophet, and to theologians,  
 and to doctors learned in the laws, and to holy men. And  
 they resorted at all times to my palace, and they beauti-  
 fied and adorned my imperial assembly by their presence.  
 And they conversed on sacred knowledge, and on govern-  
 ment, and on wisdom : and to them I proposed questions  
 concerning those things which were lawful, and those  
 which were forbidden.

THE SECOND CLASS. Persons of wis-  
 dom, and deliberation, and vigilance, and circumspection,  
 and aged men endowed with knowledge and foresight, I  
 admitted to my private councils : and I associated with  
 them, and I reaped benefit, and acquired experience from  
 their conversation.

THE THIRD CLASS. I revered devout,  
 and pious men ; and I implored their prayers in the hour  
 of retirement : and I supplicated their blessings on my  
 actions. And in war, and in peace, and in my councils, and  
 in

از ایشان برگزینی تمام می یافتم و در روز جنگ از ایشان ظفرها میدیدم

چنانچه در وقتی که لشکر من بواسطه کثرت لشکر توقفش خان در جنگ مضطرب شدند میر ضیا الدین سبزواری که صاحب الدعوت بود سر خود را برهنه ساخت و دست بدعا بر آورد و هنوز دعای وی باتمام نرسیده بود که اثر دعای وی ظاهر گردید

و چنانچه در وقتی که یکی از اهل حرم سرای مرا بیماری صعب عارض شده بود دوازده سید دعاگوی جمع آمده هر یک یک سال از عمر خود بوی بخشیدند و وی صحت یافت و دوازده سال زندگانی کرد

چهارم طایفه امرا و سرهنگسان و سپهسالاران را در مجلس خود آورن دارم و بهراتب علیا سر بلند داشتم و با ایشان صحبت داشته سخنان می پریدم

و ارباب شجاعت را که بارها شمشیرها زده بودند دوست داشتم و از رزم و در آمدن و بر آمدن در معارک و مهالک و شکستن صفها و حرب و ضرب و چپقلشها

in my deliberations, I reaped the greatest advantage from Book II.  
 their mediation. And by them I obtained victories in the  
 day of battle.

Thus it came to pass, when in an engagement with Touktummish Khaun my forces were thrown into confusion by the superior numbers of the enemy, Meer Zeau u deen (of Subzvaur) who was noted for the efficacy of his prayers, bared his head, and stretched forth his arms in supplication: his prayer was not yet concluded, when the effects of his mediation became apparent.

AND so also it came to pass, at a time when one of the inhabitants of my Hoorrum Surrai † was afflicted with a deadly distemper. Twelve holy Siuds, celebrated for their piety, assembled together; and each of them devoted a year of his own existence to her preservation: and she was restored to health, and enjoyed the full measure of their donation.

THE FOURTH CLASS. The Ameer, and the chiefs, and the commanders of my forces, I admitted to my councils; and I raised them to exalted dignities; and I associated, and conversed familiarly, with them.

AND I loved those intrepid warriors who had given repeated proofs of their courage and abilities. And I proposed questions to them concerning the art of war, and the various modes of advancing in the field of battle, and of retreat in situations of peril, and the me-

† One of his wives.

وچیتولشها از ایشان سوالات مینمودم و در مرتبه  
سپاهکری ایشانرا معتبد میداشتم و کنکاش از ایشان  
میطلبیدم

پنجم طایفه سپاه ورعیت را بیک چشم  
دیدم و اشجعان سپاه را از بهادران و دلاوران به اوتاغه\*  
کمر و ترکش خاصه سر بلند ساختم  
و کلانتران و کدخدایان هر ملک  
و مملکت را گرامی داشتم و بایشان جزا دادم و نفع  
گرفتم

و سپاه را حاضر نگاهداشتم و علوفه  
ایشان را پیش از طلب میدادم چنانچه در یساق  
روم هفت ساله علوفه از گذشته و آینده به سپاه دادم  
و سپاه ورعیت را بنوعی ضبط نمودم که از هیچ یک  
بر دیگری تعدی و عنفی واقع نمی شد

و سایر سپاه را علی مراتب درجاتهم در  
مراتب خود نگاه میداشتم که از حد خود قدم بیرون  
نمی گذاشتند و مرتبه ایشان را نه بلند بلند ساختم و نه  
پست پست و از هر کدام که خدمتی بوقوع می آمد  
بجالدو و انعام امتیاز میدادم

و شجاعت

thods of charging and breaking the lines of the enemy, Book II.  
and of skirmishing, and all the other operations of war :  
and I placed confidence in them ; and I consulted their opi-  
nions in proportion to their skill and experience.

THE FIFTH CLASS. The soldier and the subject I regarded with the same eye. And the brave and the resolute from amongst my warriors I distinguished by gifts and by honours.

AND I treated with dignity and attention the rulers and the chiefs of every province and kingdom ; and I conferred rewards upon them, and I reaped benefit from their services.

AND I kept my troops in a state of readiness, and I advanced to them their wages even before it was due. Thus in my expedition against Room, I gave unto my soldiers seven years wages ; part thereof due, and the remainder in advance. And such was the discipline which I established amongst my troops and my subjects, that the one was never injured or oppressed by the other.

AND my soldiers of every rank I confined in such sort to their several stations, that they could not step beyond the limits prescribed to them : and I neither exalted them above, nor depressed them below the rest of my subjects. And those of them who signalized themselves by eminent services, I rewarded with honours and donations.

D d

AND



وشجاعت وعقل هر کس از سایر  
 سپاه را که بهیزان عیار می سنجیدم تربیت کرده  
 بهرتبه امارت میرسانیدم و فراخور کار ایشان بر مراتب  
 ایشان می افزودم

طایفه ششم از خردمندان معتبد  
 را سخ اعتقاد که سزاواران بودند که رازهای  
 امور سلطنت بایشان سپارم و مشوره امور سلطنت  
 بایشان کنم طایفه را صاحب اسرار نهانی خود ساختم  
 و امور مخفی و اسرار نهانی خود را بدیشان سپردم

هفتم طایفه از وزرا و کتاب و منشیان  
 دیوان سلطنت خود را آراسته ساختم و ایشان را آینه  
 دار مهالک خود ساختم که وقایع ملک و مملکت  
 و سپاه و رعیت را بهن نمودار میساختند

و خزانه و رعیت و سپاه مرا معبور نگاه  
 میداشتند و رخنه ملک را بتدبیر لایق بر میبستند  
 و مداخل و مخارج کارخانه سلطنت مرا مضبوط نگاه  
 میداشتند و در توفیر و معبوری ملک سعی می  
 بودند

هشتم

AND those of my officers whose resolution Book II.  
and abilities I had weighed and proved in the balance  
of trial, I received into my especial favour, and I pro-  
moted them to the rank of commanders : and, in propor-  
tion to their conduct, I advanced them to superior stations.

THE SIXTH CLASS. From amongst the  
wise and the prudent, who merited trust and confidence,  
who were worthy of being consulted on the affairs of  
government, and to whose care I might submit the secret  
concerns of my empire, I selected a certain number,  
whom I constituted the repositories of my secrets. And  
my weighty and hidden transactions, and my secret  
thoughts and intentions I delivered over to them.

THE SEVENTH CLASS. By the viz-  
zeers, and the secretaries, and the scribes I gave order and  
regularity to my public councils. I made them the keepers  
of the mirror of my government; in which they shewed  
unto me the affairs of my dominions and my empire, and  
the concerns of my armies and my people.

AND they kept rich my treasury; and they  
secured plenty and prosperity to my soldiers and to my  
subjects. And by proper and skilful measures they repair-  
ed the disorders incident to empire; and they kept in  
order the revenues and the expences of government; and  
they exerted themselves in promoting plenty and popula-  
tion throughout my dominions.

هشتم طبقه حکما و اطبا و منجهان  
و مهندسان که مصالح کارخانه سلطنت اند بر خور  
جمع آوردم

و باتفاق حکما و اطبا معالجه بيماران  
مي کردم و از طبقه منجهان سعادت و نجوست ايام  
کواکب و سير ايشان و دور افلاک را مشخص مينمودم  
و باتفاق مهندسان عبارات عالي بنا نهاده تعبير کردم  
و طرح باغات انداختم

نهم طایفه محدثين و ارباب اخبار  
و قصص را بخود راه دادم و از قصص انبيا و اوليا و اخبار  
سلاطین روزگار و کيفيت رسيدن ايشان بهرتبه  
سلطنت و زوال دولت ايشان ازین طایفه مي  
شنيدم

و از قصص و اخبار ايشان و گفتار و کردار  
هريک تجربها برميداشتم و اخبار و آثار عالم از ايشان  
مي شنيدم و بر احوال عالم اطلاع حاصل مي  
نمودم

دهم طایفه بهشاخ و صوفيان و عارفان  
خدا پيوستم و بايشان صحبتها داشتم و فوايد  
آخري

THE EIGHTH CLASS. Men learned <sup>Book II:</sup> in medicine, and those skilled in the art of healing, and astrologers, and geometricians, who are essential to the dignity of empire, I drew around me.

AND, by the aid of physicians and surgeons, I gave health to the sick. And, with the assistance of astrologers, I ascertained the benign or malignant aspect of the stars; their motions, and the revolutions of the heavens. And, with the aid of geometricians and architects, I laid out gardens, and planned and constructed magnificent buildings.

THE NINTH CLASS. Historians, and such as were possessed of information and intelligence, I admitted to my presence. And from these men I heard the lives of the prophets and the patriarchs; and the histories of ancient princes, and the events by which they arrived at the dignity of empire, and the causes of the declension of their fortunes.

AND from the narratives and the histories of those princes, and from the manners and the conduct of each of them, I acquired experience and knowledge. And from those men I heard the descriptions and the traditions of the various regions of the globe, and acquired knowledge of the situations of the kingdoms of the earth.

THE TENTH CLASS. I united myself with holy and pious men, with those to whom the Almighty

آخروي اخذ نمود و سخنان خدای می شنیدم  
و کرامات و خوارق عادات از ایشان مشاهده می  
نمودم و مرا از صحبت ایشان سرور و حضور تمام حاصل  
می آمد

یازدهم طایفه ارباب صناعت را از هر  
طایفه و هر صنفی بدولتخانه خود آوردم و در اردوی  
خود ایشانرا اورن دادم که در سفر و حضر ما بحتاج  
سپاه را حاضر داشته باشند

طایفه دوازدهم مترددین و مسافران هر  
ملک و دیار را تسلی دادم که اخبار ممالک را بین  
پرسانند  
و تجاراترا و قافله سالاران را تعیین نمودم  
که بهر ملک و هر دیار رفته از ختا و ختن و چین

† The first, the third, and this (the tenth) class, appear on a superficial view to be the same people, i.e. men devoted to the duties of religion; but, on a nearer examination, it is evident that they were classes distinct from each other. The first were undoubtedly the heads of the Mahummudan church, the posterity of Aali, the dignified prelates, and the eminent doctors of the law. The third class appears to be a selection (from the first) of such eminent men as had rendered themselves celebrated by their superior piety and religious attention to the laws. And by this (the tenth) class Timour evidently means such religious men, as had retired from the world and

وماچین

mighty had given wisdom ;† and I associated with them ; Book II.  
 and I heard from them the word of God ; and I acquired  
 knowledge of the blessings of a future state. And I saw  
 them perform miracles and wonderful things ; and I  
 reaped delight and satisfaction from their conversation.

**THE ELEVENTH CLASS.** I brought  
 into my palace artificers of every sort, and of every deno-  
 mination ; and I admitted them into my camp ; that both  
 at home and abroad they might supply, and keep in readi-  
 ness, the necessaries requisite to my soldiers.

**THE TWELFTH CLASS.** To travellers,  
 and to voyagers, of every country I gave encouragement ;  
 that they might communicate unto me the intelligence  
 and transactions of the surrounding nations.

AND I appointed merchants and chiefs of Kau-  
 ruvauns to travel to every kingdom, and to every country ;  
 that they might bring unto me all sorts of valuable mer-  
 chandize and rare curiosities, from Khuttau, and from Khut-

and devoted themselves to solitude, to the study of the Koraun, and the  
 regular performance of the religious duties prescribed by their law-giver.  
 These hermits, or monks, like their brethren of the western church, acqui-  
 red in all times a large share of popular respect and veneration by their  
 austerities and apparent sanctity. They too performed their miracles and  
 wonderful things ; and, if the eastern historians may be credited, with as  
 much dexterity and address as any of those holy men and women on whom  
 the honour of sainthood has been conferred by the infallibility of the Roman  
 Pontiffs.

tun,

وماچین و هندوستان و بلاد عرب و مصر و شام و روم  
و جزایر فرنگ متاع نفیس و تحفهای لایق بجهت من  
بیاورند و احوال و اوضاع و اطوار متوطنان و سکنه آن  
دیار را بعرض من رسانند و سلوک حکام هر مملکتی را  
با رعایا بخاطر آورده نبودار سازند و ترک طوایفی که  
از ترک و تاجیک و عرب و عجم بدرگاه من التجا  
آوردند چنین کردم

که اول امر نبودم که هر طایفه و هر  
طبقه را که سادات و علما باشند اعزاز و احترام نمایند  
و هر مطلبی که ایشانرا بوره باشد  
با نجاج مقرون گردانند و رعایت احوال ایشان بواجبی  
نمایند

و اگر طایفه سپاه بوره باشد ایشانرا اورن  
داده فراخور احوال پرداخت احوال ایشان نمایند  
و اگر از ارباب معرفت و صنعت باشد  
در کارخانجات سلطنت ایشانرا بکار دارند و سایر

† i. e. Whether Tatars or Persians, Arabs or Syrians. Such are the confined meanings of the words *Tauchesk* and *Ajjum*; but they frequently convey a more extensive idea: for the Tatars use the word *Tauchesk*, and the

tun, and from Cheen, and from Maucheen, and from Hindostaun, and from the cities of Arabia, and from Missur, and from Shaum, and from Room, and from the islands of the Christians; that they might give me information of the situation, and of the manners, and of the customs of the natives and the inhabitants of those regions; and that they might observe, and communicate unto me, the conduct of the princes of every kingdom, and of every country, towards their subjects.

RELATIVE to the various tribes, whether Toork or Tauchek, Arrub or Ajjum,† who sought shelter under my government; these were the REGULATIONS which I established.

FIRST, I commanded that those who were of the posterity of the prophet, or theologians learned in the laws, should be received with reverence and respect; and that all their wishes and desires should be fulfilled; and that they should be supported in affluence and honour.

AND those who were soldiers, I ordered to be incorporated with my troops, and entertained according to their rank and their circumstances.

AND those who were skilled in mechanic arts, I directed to be employed in my service. And the

the Arabs the word *Ajjum* or *Ajjumi* to distinguish any person, or people, of a different nation from their own. Thus *Tauchek* and *Ajjum* answer to our word *foreigner*.

E c

body



الناس را از فقر و مساكين كه استطاعت داشته باشد  
فراخور احوال و طبقه مرسوم قرار دهند

و حكم كردم كه هر تجري كه راس  
المال را از دست داده باشد بوي آن قدر زر دهند كه  
باز راس المال خويش سازد و هر مزارعي و رعيتي كه  
از رعيتي و زراعت بي استطاعت شده باشد مصالح  
زراعت و عبارت بوي مقرر دارند و هر طايفه و هر صنفی  
كه بشيوه سپاهكري اختيار كنند وي را سپاهي سازند

و سپاهي زاده شجاع اصلي از هر طايفه  
كه باشد او را اوين دهند و سراسر امور كاه و تربيت  
نپايند

و امر نمودم كه هر كس از هر طايفه كه  
بمجلس من در آيد ويرا از خوان نعت سلطنت من  
محروم نكر دانند

و هر كس را بنظر من در آورند و نظر من  
بروي اقتاد تفرقات فراخور احوال بوي ارزاني دارند  
و هر كس از كنه گاران و بي كناه كه بدويان عدالت  
من در آيد بوي به بخشايند و در كناه دوم و سيم  
فراخور كناه سزا دهند

تروك

body of the people, the indigent and the poor, who had capacity and abilities, I commanded to be accommodated agreeably to their situations. Book II.

I ordered that the merchant who had lost his property, should have such sums of money given unto him as were sufficient to restore his capital to its original state; and that every husbandman and every peasant, who was not possessed of the implements of husbandry and cultivation, should be supplied therewith; and that those, of whatever class or rank, who chose the occupation of arms, should be received into military service.

AND the genuine descendant of a soldier, resolute and brave, of whatever tribe or hord he might be, I ordered to be enrolled in the number of my forces, and to be promoted in proportion to his conduct and behaviour.

AND I ordained that no person, whatever his rank, who entered my palace, should be excluded from the table of my imperial bounty.

AND whoever was brought into my presence, and attracted my notice, I commanded that honours should be conferred upon him in proportion to his rank; and that every criminal who came for the first time before my tribunal, should be pardoned; but that for the second, and the third, crime he should meet with punishment adequate to his offences.

تزوگ استقلال سلطنت خود چنین  
 کردم  
 که دوازده چیز را شعار خود ساختم تا  
 باستقلال تمام بر تخت سلطنت نشستم و به تجربه من  
 رسیده است که با هر پادشاهی که این دوازده امر  
 نباشد از سلطنت بهره نداشته باشد

اول باید که کردار و گفتارش از خود  
 باشد یعنی سپاه و رعیت بدانند که آنچه بادشاه  
 میگوید و میکند خود میگوید و میکند و دیگری را  
 در آن دخلی نیست

پس باید که پادشاه بگفتار و کردار  
 دیگران بنوعی که شریک مرتبه سلطنت کردند  
 عمل نکند اگرچه سخن خوب از همه کس باید  
 شنید اما نه به مرتبه که از گفتار و کردار در امور  
 سلطنت شریک و غالب کردند

دویم سلطانرا باید که در همه چیز  
 عدالت بکار برد و وزرای عادل با انصاف در خدمت  
 خود بکار دارند و اگر پادشاه ظلم کند وزیر  
 عادل

THUS I established rules for the security of Book II.  
my government.

I regulated my conduct by TWELVE CERTAIN MAXIMS: and by them I seated myself firmly on the throne of empire. And from experience it is known unto me, that every prince who adhereth not to these Twelve Maxims, shall reap little advantage from his dominion and regal station.

FIRST. It is necessary that his words and his actions be his own. That is to say, that his soldiers and his subjects may know that what the king sayeth and doeth, he sayeth and doeth from himself; and that no other person hath influence therein.

THEREFORE it is requisite that a king be not so guided by the conduct and the counsels of others, as to make them his associates in his regal authority. For although he be obliged to hear good advice from all, yet he must not to that degree attend unto them, as to enable them by their measures and their counsels to become his equals, and in the end his superiors, in the concerns of his government.

SECONDLY. It is necessary to a king that he adhere to justice in all his actions, and that he receive into his service ministers who are just and virtuous. For if a king be guilty of oppression, an upright minister may counteract the evil thereof. But if the minister be  
unjust

عادل تدارک آن نباید اما اگر وزیر ظالم باشد زود  
باشد که خانه سلطنت خراب گردد

چنانچه امیر حسین وزیری داشت ظالم  
که بحق وناحق جریها از سپاه و رعیت می گرفت تا در  
اندک زمانی از ظلم آن وزیری بی انصاف خانه  
سلطنت امیر حسین خراب شد

سیموم در اوامر ونهی استقلال بکار برد  
و بذات خود حکم کند که دیگری را زهره آن  
نباشد که در آن حکم دخل کند و تغیر دهد

چهارم بر عزیمت خود راسخ باشد یعنی  
بر هر کاری که عزیمت بندد نسخ آن نکند و تا  
به اتمام نرساند دست از آن کار باز ندارد

پنجم جریان حکم است چه حکمی  
که بکند باید که آن حکم جاری گردد و که کسی را  
یارای آن نباشد که رد آن حکم تواند کرد اگرچه  
در آن حکم ضررها متصور باشد

چنانچه

unjust and cruel, it shall speedily come to pass, that the edifice of his masters's power and dominion shall be levelled with the earth. Book II.

Thus Ameer Hoossein had a cruel and a wicked minister, who levied oppressive fines on the soldiers and on the subjects; until in a short time by the oppressions of that unjust and cruel minister, the fabric of the dominion of Ameer Hoossein was laid in the dust.

THIRDLY. In his injunctions and in his prohibitions he must act with resolution and with firmness. And he himself must issue his royal commands, that no one may have the temerity, or the power, to interpose, to alter, or to corrupt them.

FOURTHLY. He must be firm and constant in all his determinations. That is to say, on whatever plan or enterprise he shall resolve, he must not alter his resolution, nor withdraw his hand from that enterprise, until he hath brought it to a fortunate conclusion.

THE FIFTH is the spirit of command. For whatever command he giveth, it is necessary that that command should be obeyed; that no one should have the power to act in opposition thereto, even though inconvenience or mischief should be the expected consequence of that command.

چنانچه بهسامع من رسید که سلطان  
مجهول غزنوي حکم کرد که سنگي بر سر میدان  
غزنين بینداختند و از آن سنگ اسپان مردم رم  
میکردند هرچند بعرض رسانیدند که آن سنگ را از  
سر راه بر دارند گفت که حکمي کرده ام از حکم  
خود بر نیکردم و خلاف حکم نمیکنم

ششم امور سلطنت خود را من حیث  
الاستقلال بدیگری نسپارد و عنان اختیار خود بدست  
دیگری ندهد که دنیا غدار است و عاشق بسیار دارد  
و زود باشد که آن صاحب اختیار میل بر سلطنت  
نبوده متصرف مرتبه سلطنت گردد

چنانچه وزرای سلطان مجهول با وی  
کردند و ویرا از مرتبه سلطنت خلع نبوده و مملکت  
و سلطنت ویرا متصرف گشتند پس باید که امور  
سلطنت متابع گرداند بچند کس معتبر و معتد  
که تا هر یکی بکار خود مشغول بوده طبع در مرتبه  
سلطنت ننمایند

هفتم

So it hath been related unto me, that Sool-  
 taun Muhmood, emperor of Ghizni, ordered on a cer- Book II.  
 tain occasion that a stone should be cast down at the  
 entrance of the plain of Ghiznein : and the horses of the  
 people started and sprang back from that stone. And al-  
 though his servants solicited his permission that they might  
 remove the stone from the entrance of the road, he refu-  
 sed his assent : he answered unto them, ‘ I have issued  
 ‘ forth the order ; and I will not turn back from, or con-  
 ‘ tradict, my own commands.’

SIXTHLY ; (for from hence proceedeth  
 security and power ) he must not trust the concerns of his  
 government to others, nor deliver over the reins of his  
 authority into the hands of a servant : for the world is  
 full of treachery, and hath many lovers ; and it may  
 soon come to pass that the powerful servant shall aspire to  
 regal dignity, and seat himself on the throne of his master.

SUCH was the conduct of the ministers of  
 Sooltaun Muhmood towards their lord. They expelled him  
 from the imperial throne, and they divided his dominions  
 and his power amongst themselves. It is necessary therefore  
 that the powers and important affairs of government be  
 divided ; and that they be entrusted to the care of divers  
 persons of approved fidelity, and of known loyalty ; so  
 that being employed in their own proper departments, no  
 one of them may aspire to the supreme authority.



هفتم در امور سلطنت از هر کس سخن  
 بشنود آنچه پسندیده باشد در خزانه خاطر خود  
 نگاهدارد و در وقتش بکار برد

هشتم در امور سلطنت و سپاه و رعیت  
 بقول و فعل هر کس عمل نکند و از وزرا و امرا که در  
 حق شخصی سخنی گویند بشنود خواه نیک و خواه  
 بد لیکن در عمل نمودن بآن تأمل نباید تا آنکه  
 حقیقت حال بروی ظاهر گردد

نهم باید که سطوت سلطنتش در دلها  
 سپاه و رعیت بنوعی جای گیرد که هیچکس را یارای  
 تخلف از امر و حکم وی نباشد و از اطاعت و متابعتش  
 عصیان نورزند

دهم آنچه کند بذات خود کند و آنچه  
 گوید بر سخن خود راسخ باشد چه پادشاه را جز اعزاز  
 حکم چیزی دیگر بهره نباشد که خزانه و لشکر و رعیت  
 و سلاطین همین حکم ایشان باشد

یازدهم

SEVENTHLY. On the affairs of his go- Book II.  
vernment he must listen to the opinions of his fervants :  
those which are good, he must lay up in the treasury of  
his heart, and call them forth into action at their proper  
seasons.

EIGHTHLY. In the concerns of dominion,  
and in those things which relate to his subjects and his  
soldiers, he must not act by the assistance and the advice  
of others. If his Vizzers or his Ameers speak unto him  
concerning any one, whether that which they say be good,  
or whether it be evil, let him hearken to them ; but in  
forming his determination thereon let him be cautious  
and circumspect, until the truth be apparent unto him.

NINTHLY. It is necessary that the ma-  
jesty of his dominion be so impressed on the hearts of his  
soldiers and his subjects, that none shall dare to disobey  
his orders and commands, or to revolt from their duty  
and obedience to his royal authority.

TENTHLY. What the king doeth he  
must do from himself ; and he must adhere to that which  
he sayeth : for unto a prince there is nothing so valuable  
as a just veneration for his royal word. This word is  
unto him a family of princes, and a rich treasury ; it ma-  
keth to him numerous subjects and powerful armies.

یازدهم در امور سلطنت واجرائی  
احکام خود را بی شریک داند و کسی را شریک  
سلطنت نکرده اند

دوازدهم از حال اهل مجلس خود  
آگاه باشد و هوشیاری بکار برد که اکثر خواهش  
محیوب باشند و خبر به بیرون رسانند و از گفتار و کردار  
پادشاه خبر به امرا و وزرا بگویند چنانچه این قضیه  
بر من بوقوع آمده چون جبهی از اهل مجلس  
خاص من جاسوسان امرا و وزرا من بودند

#### تزوک نگاهداشت سپاه

امر نبودم که چون ده نفر سپاهی  
اصیل کار کرده جمع آیند یکی از ایشان که بجوهر  
شجاعت و مردی مخصوص باشد بصلاح و رضاء آن  
نه نفر دیگر ویرا بر ایشان امیر گردانند ویرا اون  
باشی نام دهند

و چون ده اون باشی جمع شوند یکی  
از ایشان که بکارگذاری و گردانی آراسته باشد بر  
ایشان امیر گردانند و ویرا یوز باشی نام گردانند  
و چون

**ELEVENTHLY.** In the affairs of his government, and in the issuing forth his orders and commands, he must consider himself as single and alone ; nor must he associate any one with him in the administration of his authority. Book II.

**TWELFTHLY.** He must be acquainted with the manners and the dispositions of his favourites and his confidants. And he must act with caution and circumspection : for many are lovers of slander and of calumny, who may carry reports abroad, and communicate to the Vizzeers and the Ameers the words and the actions of their prince. Thus, it once happened unto me at a time when several of those whom I admitted to my private council proved to be the spies of my Vizzeers and my Omraus.

**REGULATIONS FOR THE FORMING OF MY ARMY.**

I ordained, when ten select soldiers, men of proof, were collected together, that one of them, who was distinguished for valour and for bravery, should, with the advice and the consent of the remaining nine, be appointed commander over them ; and that he should be called Ounbaushee :

AND when ten Ounbaushee were assembled together, that one of them who was qualified by service and abilities, should be appointed their leader ; and that he should be stiled Euzbaushee :

AND

وچون ده یوز باشي جمع آیند امیر  
 زاده عاقل اصیل بهادر مردانه را بریشان امیر گردانند  
 ووبرا منک باشي وامیر هزاره خطاب دهند  
 واون باشیان را مختار ساختم که اگر  
 یکی از تابینان ایشان فوت شود یا فرار نماید دیگری را  
 بجای وي مقرر سازند و همچنین یوز باشي اون  
 باشي را ومنک باشي یوز باشي را تعیین نمایند  
 و کیفیت فوت یا فرار او ونصب کردن دیگری را  
 بعرض رسانند

و همچنین امر کردم که در چار پلچار\*  
 و امور سلطنت حکم منک باشي بر یوز باشي و حکم یوز  
 باشي بر اون باشي و حکم اون باشي بر تابینان  
 جاری باشد و اگر خلاف نمایند بسزا رسانند و اگر  
 در چار پلچار\* کوتاهی نمایند اخراج نبوده عوض  
 نگاه دارند

تنزوک قرار علوفه سپاه

امر کردم که علوفه سپاه از امرا ومنک  
 باشیان

AND that, when ten Euzbaufhee were collected together, an officer of exalted lineage, the son of a chief, of approved knowledge, and valour, and intrepidity, should be appointed commander over them; and that he should be called Mingbaufhee, and Leader of a thousand. Book II.

AND I gave power to the Ounbaufhees, that if any soldier under their command should die, or should desert, that they should appoint another soldier in his place. In the like manner I ordained, that the Euzbaufhee should appoint the Ounbaufhee, and the Mingbaufhee the Euzbaufhee; and that they should lay before me an account of the person who had died or deserted, and of the appointment of another in his stead.

AND I commanded in the like manner, that, on military service and in every concern that related to government, the authority of the Mingbaufhee should be established over the Euzbaufhee; and the authority of the Euzbaufhee over the Ounbaufhee; and the authority of the Ounbaufhee over the common soldier; that they should chastise those that were disobedient; and that those who in the day of battle were deficient in performing their duty, should be expelled; and that others should be appointed in their place.

#### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PAY OF MY FORCES.

I commanded that the subsistence of my troops, of the Omraus, and the Mingbaufhees, and the Euzbaufhees,

باشیان و یوز باشیان و اون باشیان و سایر سپاه برین  
نهج مقرر گردانند

که علوفه سایر سپاه بشرط اصالت  
و سپاهکری بهای اسب وی مقرر باشد و علوفه  
بهادرانیکه از بهاء دو اسب تا چهار اسب معین باشد  
و علوفه اون باشی ده برابر علوفه تایینان  
وی باشد و علوفه یوز باشی دو برابر علوفه اون باشی  
و علوفه منک باشی سه برابر علوفه یوز باشی  
معین باشد

و حکم کردم که هر یک از سپاه که  
در چار پلچار\* کوتاهی نباید ده یک از علوفه وی  
کم نمایند و امر نمودم که اون باشی به تصدیق  
یوز باشی علوفه بکیرد و یوز باشی بتصدیق منک  
باشی و منک باشی به تصدیق امیرالامرا علوفه  
بکیرد

† This mode of fixing the pay of the soldier is still practiced in Hindo-  
staun. Every soldier finds his own horse, and receives pay in proportion  
to his value. Select men are still taken into service with two, and some-  
times

Euzbaushees, and the Ounbaushees, and the common Book II.  
 soldiers should be fixed and determined according to the  
 following order.

I ordained that the subsistence of each of  
 the private soldiers, if he were a sufficient and able man,  
 should be fixed at the value of his horse; † and that the  
 subsistence of my select and chosen warriors should be  
 estimated at the value of from two to four horses each.

AND I ordered that the subsistence of the  
 Ounbaushees should be ten times as much as the subsis-  
 tence of the soldiers under them; and that the subsistence  
 of the Euzbaushees should be twice as much as that of  
 the Ounbaushees; and that the subsistence of the Ming-  
 baushees should be three times as much as the subsistence  
 of the Euzbaushees.

AND I ordained that the soldier who neg-  
 lected his duty, ‡ should be fined in one tenth of his pay.  
 And I commanded that the Ounbaushees should receive  
 their subsistence under the controul of the Euzbaushees;  
 and that the Euzbaushees should receive their subsistence  
 under the controul of the Mingbaushees; and that the  
 Mingbaushees should receive their subsistence under the  
 controul of the Amcer ul Omrau. ||

times three, horses each; which are mounted by their servants, and they  
 receive pay in proportion.

† The word thus translated is Mogul, and the sense doubtful.

|| i. e. The chief of the Amcers or Nobles.

G g

AND



وامر نبودم که علوفه امیر الامرا ده  
برابر علوفه تاینان ایشان بده باشد و همچنان امر  
نمودم که علوفه دیوان بیکی ووزرا ده برابر امرا  
باشد وعلوفه یساولان وجساولان وقلچیان\* از هزار تا  
ده هزار مقرر باشد

وعلوفه مجلسیان از سادات وعلما وفضلا  
وحکما واطبا ومنجهان وارباب قصص وروایات فراخور  
نسبت ایشان سیورغال\* ووظیفه وعلوفه معین دارند  
وعلوفه پیادگان وخدم وفراشان از صد تا هزار مقرر  
نمایند

وامر کردم که امیر الامرا بتصدیق  
دیوان بیکی ووزرا علوفه بکیرد وعرض مراتب علوفه  
هریک را دیوان بیکی ووزرا به عرض من رسانند  
وتمخواه دهند

وامر نبودم که یرلیغ علوفه بهریک از  
سپاه نوشته بسپارند آنچه بوی رسانند در پست همان  
یرلیغ وصول آن مبلغ بنویسند

† This regulation is not understood by the the translator. The words  
*Tuffanvullaun*, *Juffanvullaun*, and *Kuluchasun* are Mogul.

AND I commanded that the pay of the Ameer ul Omrau should be ten times as much as the pay of the officer subordinate unto him. And, in like manner, I ordained that the stipends of the Dewaunbeghi and of the Vizzeers should be ten times as much as the subsistence of the Ameers; and that the subsistence of the Yussauwullaun, the Jussauwullaun, and the Kulluckcheaun should be established at from one thousand to ten thousand. †

AND I ordained that pensions, and salaries, and subsistence should be conferred on the posterity of the prophet, and the theologians, and the men of science, and the learned in medicine, and on the astrologers, and the historians, in proportion to their different ranks and stations: and that the subsistence of the foot-soldiers, and the domestics, and the Furraushaun ‡ should be fixed at from a hundred to a thousand.

AND I ordained also that the Ameer ul Omrau should receive his subsistence under the inspection of the Dewaunbeghi and the Vizzeers. And I commanded that the Vizzeers and the Dewaunbeghi should lay before me the statement of the salaries of each of my people, and pay them agreeably thereto.

AND I ordained that a written order for his subsistence should be delivered to each of my soldiers; and that the sums which from time to time were advanced unto him, should be written down on the back of that order.

† The *Furraushaun* are the people employed to erect the tents, &c.

نزوک تنخواه ورسانیدن علوفه بسپاه

امر نبودم که یکساله علوفه پیادگان

و قلچیان و یساولان و جساوان را \* بر آورد نموده

مبلغ ایشانرا در دیوانخانه آورده بدیشان

پرسانند

و علوفه سایر سپاه و بهادرانیکه را امر نمودم

که شش ماهه بر آورد نمایند و وجه علوفه ایشانرا از

خزانه تنخواه دهند

و امر نمودم که علوفه اون باشی و یوز

باشی بر مان امانی شهری و ملکی نقد برات

نویسند و منک باشیانرا در میان ولایت یتول \* بدهند

وامرا و امیر الامرا را در سرحدات ولایت مقرر نمایند

و امر نمودم که نسبت ولایات بدین

طریق نمایند

که جمع حاصل ولایات و ممالک را

تقسیم نمایند و در یرلیغها کم و زیاده بنویسند و آن

یرلیغها را در دیوانخانه آورده هریک از امرا و منک

باشیان

CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT AND Book II.  
PAY OF MY TROOPS.

I commanded that the accompt of twelve months subsistence for the infantry, and the Kulluckcheaun, and the Yussauwullaun, and the Jussauwullaun should be made out at one time; and that the money which was their due should be brought forth into the hall of audience, and there delivered unto them.

I ordered that the accompts of the subsistence of my cavalry in general should be made out every six months; and that appointments to the amount of their pay should be delivered unto them from the treasury.

AND I ordained that for the subsistence of the Ounbaushees and the Euzbaushees written orders should be given on the Maulaumauni† of the cities and the country; and that the interior districts should be allotted for the payment of the Mingbaushees; and that the stipends of the Ameers and the Ameer ul Omrau should be granted on the revenues of the frontier provinces.

AND I COMMANDED THAT THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE PROVINCES, AND THE DISTRICTS, SHOULD BE MADE IN THIS MANNER:

THAT the amount of the revenues of the various provinces and kingdoms should be divided into lots for more or for less, and that a royal assignment for the payment of each of those lots should be made out; and that those assignments should be brought into the hall

† Imposts, duties.

باشیان پرلیغی بردارند و اگر از علوفه وی زیاده  
باشد دیگر وی را بخود شریک سازد و اگر کم باشد  
پرلیغ دیگری را بردارد

وامر نمودم که امرا و منک باشیان در  
تحصیل مال و جهات از رعیت چیزی زیاده از اصل المال  
و ساوری و قتلغه و شیلان\* بها طلب ندارند

و هر مهلت را که یتول\* بدهند دو وزیر  
بدان مهلت تعیین نمایند یکی جمع ولایت بنویسد  
و نسق رعیت نباید تا خرابی بحال رعیت راه نیابد  
و جاگبودار ظلم و تعدی بر رعایا نتواند کرد و آنچه  
از ولایت تحصیل شود در مداخل جمع نباید و وزیر  
دیگر مخارج بنویسد و بر سپاه قسمت نباید

و بهر امیری که یتول\* بدهند تا سه  
سال بحال نگاهدارند و بعد از سه سال ملاحظه

+ *Yagbar* is a royal grant of certain lands; or more properly an assignment of the crown revenues of a certain district to any one, and revocable at the pleasure of the prince. The holder of this grant is called *Yagbardar*.

نمایند

of audience; and that the Ameers and the Mingbaushées Book II.  
 should each of them take one of those assignments; and  
 that if the amount thereof exceeded the sum of his sub-  
 sistence, some one else should participate with him; and  
 if it were less, that another should be given in exchange,  
 or added unto it.

AND I commanded that the Ameers and  
 the Mingbaushées, in collecting the revenues from the sub-  
 jects, should not on any account demand more than the  
 taxes and duties established.

AND to every province on which a royal  
 assignment was granted, I ordained that two supervisors  
 should be appointed to that province: that one of them  
 should inspect the collections and watch over the concerns  
 of the inhabitants, that they might not be impoverished,  
 and that the Jaugheerdaur † might not ill-use or oppress  
 them; and that he should take an account of all the sums  
 which were collected in the province: and that the other  
 supervisor should keep a register of the public expences,  
 and distribute the revenues among the soldiers.

AND every Ameer who was appointed to a  
 Jaugheer, † I ordained that for the space of three years it  
 should remain unto him; and that after three years the  
 state of the province should be inspected. If the inhabi-

† In the original *Yattoo*; which is Mogul, and has the same meaning  
 with *Jaugheer*.

نمایند اگر ملک آباد و رعایا راضی باشند بحال  
خود دارند و اگر بر خلاف این باشد آن ولایت را  
بخالصه ضبط کنند و تا سه سال آن جاکیردار را  
علوفه ندهند

و امر نمود که مال از رعیت به بیم  
و ترسانیدن تحصیل نمایند نه بچوب و شلاق چه حکم  
جاکبی که از چوب و شلاق کمتر باشد آن حاکم  
سوار حکومت نباشد

مراتب علوفه فرزندان و نبایر

امر نمود که فرزند اولین که محمد  
جهانگیر است ولی عهد من باشد دوازده هزار سوار را  
علوفه و ولایت بکیرد

و فرزند دویمین که عمر شیخ است ده  
هزار سوار را علوفه و ولایت بکیرد

و فرزند سیومین که میران شاه است  
نه هزار سوار را علوفه بکیرد و بر ولایت متصرف گردد  
و فرزند چهارمین که شاه رخ است هفت  
هزار سوار را علوفه و ولایت بکیرد

و نبیرگان

tants were satisfied, and if the country was flourishing Book II.  
and populous, that he should be continued therein : but  
if the contrary should appear, that the Jaugheer should  
return unto the crown ; and that for the three following  
years, subsistence should not be granted to the holder  
thereof.

AND I ordained that the collection of the  
taxes from the subject might, when necessary, be enforced  
by menaces and by threats ; but never by whips and  
by scourges. The governor whose authority is inferior to  
the power of the scourge, is unworthy to govern.

CONCERNING THE SUBSISTENCE OF MY  
CHILDREN AND DESCENDANTS.

I commanded that my eldest son, the heir  
to my throne, who is Mahummud Jchaungheer, should  
receive the subsistence of twelve thousand horsemen, and  
the assignment of territories sufficient to defray the same ;

AND that my second son, who is Omur  
Sheikh, should receive the subsistence of ten thousand  
horsemen, and lands correspondent thereunto :

AND that my third son, who is Meeraun  
Shaah, should receive the subsistence of nine thousand  
horsemen, and the assignment of a province for the pay-  
ment of the same :

AND that my fourth son, who is Shaah-  
rokh, should receive the subsistence of seven thousand  
horsemen, and the assignment of a Jaugheer equivalent  
thereto :

H h

AND



و نایبیرگان بقدر استعداد از سه هزار تا  
 هفت هزار سوار را علوفه و ولایت بکیرند  
 دیگر جماعت را مگر بهین قرابت داشتند  
 فساد خور حالت و استعداد و امارت و ایالت از مرتبه امیر  
 اول تا امیر هفتم بدهند و هر یک در مرتبه حد خود  
 بوده از حد خود تجاوز نه نمایند و چون خلاف ظاهر  
 شود مخاطب بگردند

در باب سیاست فرزندان و نایبیرگان  
 و خویشان و امرایان و وزرا  
 امر نمودم که اگر از فرزندان یکی  
 مدعی مرتبه سلطنت شود در کشتن و بستن وی  
 جرات نکنند و اعضای ایشان را ناقص نسازند لیکن  
 در قید نگاهدارند تا از دعوی خود باز آیند تا در  
 ملک خدا فساد نشود  
 و نایبیر و خویشان اگر مخالفت نمایند  
 ایشانرا درویش سازند

وامرا

AND that my grandsons should receive subsistence and lands for from three to seven thousand horse, each according to his capacity and abilities. Book II.

To all others who were related unto me, I commanded that subsistence and appointments should be given, from the rank of first Ameer to the rank of seventh Ameer, according to the abilities, and the dignity, and the rank of each ; and that every one of them should rest content with the station wherein he was placed, and presume not to exceed the limits prescribed unto him ; and that if any one of them should disobey this order, he should be called to a strict account.

CONCERNING THE PUNISHMENTS  
OF MY CHILDREN, AND MY GRANDCHILDREN, AND  
MY RELATIONS, AND MY CHIEFS, AND MY MINISTERS.

I ordained, if either of my sons should aspire to the imperial throne, that they should not presume to put him to death, nor load him with chains ; neither should they injure him in his limbs, or his organs ; but that they should confine him in a prison, until he returned back from his evil ways : that civil wars and convulsions might not arise in the land of the Lord.

AND if any one of my grandchildren, or relations, rose in enmity against me, I ordered him to be reduced to the state of a Dervais. †

† i. e. To be deprived of his honour and fortune ; to be reduced to a state of beggary.

وامرا که حصار ملک اند اگر در وقت  
کار نفاق کنند ایشانرا از امارت و ایالت معزول  
گردانند و اگر از ایشان کاری بظهور رسد که از  
آن کار فسادی در ملک ظاهر شود تابین امرا  
نمایند و اگر در امور سپاهکری کاهلی نمایند داخل  
نویسندگان سازند و اگر بعد آن تقصیری و کوتاهی  
از ایشان بظهور رسد بار ندهند

در باب وزرا که معتبدان و معتبران  
سلسله دولت اند

امر نهودم اگر در امور سلطنت خیانتی  
از ایشان ظاهر شود و زوال سلطنت اراده نهوده باشند  
در کشتن ایشان تعجیل نه نمایند

و تحقیق کنند که مدعی و تقریر  
کنندگان ایشان چه کسان اند اول راستی و راست  
گوی مدعیان بر محک امتحان تجربه نمایند چه  
حاسدان و مفتریان بسیار باشند که از روی حسد  
و طمع امر دروغی را بلباس راستی بیارایند تا کار  
خود را ساخته گردانند

و بسیار از سفلیکان لیم باشند که  
دشمنان دولت را تسلی نمایند و دولتخواهان جانسپار را  
بحیله

AND if the Ameer, who are the bulwarks Book II.  
of empire, should disobey in the hour of action, I ordered that they should be degraded from their commands, and deprived of their powers and their dignities; and that if any of them should be guilty of actions, from whence disturbances might arise in my dominions, that they should be delivered over to the judgement of their peers; and that if they were guilty of neglect in the line of their military duty, they should be classed amongst the scribes; and, if in that station they were disobedient and refractory, that they should be expelled from the imperial service.

CONCERNING THE MINISTERS, WHO  
ARE THE MOST RESPECTABLE AND CONFIDENTIAL  
OF THE SERVANTS OF ROYALTY.

I ordained, if they should be guilty of treachery in the concerns of the empire, or form attempts for the subversion of the imperial authority, that their judges should not be precipitate in consigning them over to death:

AND that they should discover and ascertain who were their accusers, and first try the honesty and truth of the witnesses on the touchstone of examination and proof: for the invidious and the slanderers are many; who from envy and self-interest will cloath falsehood in the garment of truth, that they may accomplish their own designs.

AND many there are, worthless and wicked men, who will support and encourage the enemies of their prince; and who by fraud, and artifice and treachery

بحيله كړي و مكارې خراب سازند و به مكر و غدر در  
حصار مهلكت رخنه اندازند

چنانچه امير حسين به يكي از وزراي  
من در ساخت وويرا تطبيع كرد كه امير ايكو  
تيهور و امير جاكو با آنكه بازوي دولت من بودند  
با من در اندازد و من اين معني را بغراست در ياقتم  
و سخنانې كه در حق ايشان بين ميگفتند  
نا شنیده مي انكاشتم

و همچنين جمعي از مقربان من از  
روي حسد و نفاق سخنان غير واقعه از جانب امير  
عباس كه از امرای كلان معتبر من بود در خلا  
و ملا بعرض رسانيدند و آتش غضب مرا به باد سخنان  
دروغ بر افروختند تا آنكه در حالت غضب تجربه  
نا كرده امر بقتل وي نمودم و در آخر حال غدر  
ايشانرا در حق امير عباس فهميدم و نادم و پشيمان  
گشتم

و وزراي مالي كه خزانه دار مهلكت اند  
اگر در ماليات تغلب و تصرف نپايند و اگر به مقدار  
علوفه خود تصرف نپوده باشند با نعام وي مقرر دايند  
اگر

chery will ruin and destroy his loyal and faithful subjects, and by falsehood, and perfidy, and deceit shake and overturn the foundation of his empire. Book II.

Thus Ameer Hoossein entered into a treacherous correspondence with one of my Vizzeers. And he administered to his avarice, and he prevailed upon him to sow discord and enmity between me and Eckoo Timour and Ameer Jaukoo, who were the sinews of my power and fortune. And I penetrated into the designs of Ameer Hoossein and my Vizzeer, and I listened not to their accusations against them.

And thus also several of those in whom I confided, from envy and from malice, communicated fictitious tales unto me, both in public and in private, to the prejudice of Ameer Ubbaus, who was one of my most powerful and most faithful chiefs. And they kindled the fire of my resentment by their false reports; and in the moment of anger I ordered him, unheard and unexamined, to be put to death: and in the end I discovered the perfidy of his accusers, and I was ashamed and confounded at my own conduct.

If the Vizzeers superintending the revenues, who hold the riches of the empire, were guilty of speculation therein; and if the sums which they appropriated to their own use, exceeded not the amount of their salaries, I ordered that it should be conferred upon them; that if they had taken sums to twice the amount  
of

اگر دو مقدار علوفه متصرف شده باشند در علوفه  
وي حساب نپايند اگر سه برابر علوفه خود گرفته  
باشند پيشکش کويان از وي تحصيل نپايند  
وامر نهودم که از وي اعتبار برنکيرند  
واعتبار کرده خود را بي اعتبار نکنند تا آنکه غلط بر  
سلطنت لازم نپايد

وسخنان ارباب غرض و اشعار وحاسدان  
در حق وزرا نشنوند که اين طبقه را دشمنان بسيار  
باشند چه اهل عالم همه دنيا طلب اند اگر وزرا  
رعایت ایشان نپايند خيانت کرده باشند و اگر رعایت  
نکنند که بدشمني بر بندند

چغناء خان وزيری داشت که ارباب  
تغريب چندين هزار درست زر بروي نوشته بودند چون  
آن نوشته را بنظر خان در آوردند وزير را مخاطب  
ساخت و از وي عتاب گفت که تو مرد پست فطري  
ظاهر شدی چه وزير مثل من پادشاي باشی و از  
مملکت من هيمن قدر قليل تصرف نهاي وزير  
خرده مند بهيمن احسان مبنون شده هر چه داشت  
آورده

of their subsistence, it should be deducted therefrom; and Book II.  
that, if they had defrauded the revenues to three times the  
amount of their salaries, the imperial collectors should  
levy it upon their fortunes.

AND I ordered that the collectors should not take more than was due; but that their conduct should be governed by equity and justice, that abuses might not creep into the ordinances of government.

I commanded that the tales of the wicked, the envious, and the malicious against my Vizzeers should not be attended to. For ministers are a class of men who have many enemies; and the inhabitants of this world are searchers after the things thereof. If a minister patronizes and supports them, they will deceive and betray him; and if he neglects those people, they will gird up their loins in opposition unto him.

CHUGHTAI Khaun had a minister whom the sons of calumny accused of peculation to the amount of many thousand pieces of money. When they presented the impeachment to the king, he commanded the Vizzeer into his presence, and thus reproached him, "It is evident that thou art a wretch of a most abject disposition, since being the minister of a prince rich and powerful as I am, thou canst be meanly content with defrauding thy master of such poor and contemptible sums as these." The sagacious and good Vizzeer, thus



آورده پیشکش خان گرد و عزت و اعتبار خود را  
نکاهداشت

و سایر سپاه اگر از حد خود تجاوز  
نموده بر زیر دستی ستمی کنند ویرا بدست آن  
مظلوم بسپارند که داد خود را از وی بگیرد

و کلانتران و کدخدایان اگر بر ریزه  
رعیت ظلمی کرده باشند فراخور ظلم و موافق  
استطاعت از وی جریمه گیرند حاکم و داروغه اگر  
از روی تعدی رعیت را خراب ساخته باشد ایشانرا  
بخیرا دهند و امر نمودم که بعد از ثبوت گناه اگر از  
کنه کار جریمه گیرند بشلاق سیاست نکنند و اگر  
بشلاق سیاست کنند جریمه نکنند

دزد را امر نمودم در هر جا که باشد  
و هر کس بیایند بیاسا رسانند

و هر کس مال کسی را بتعدی گرفته  
باشد مال آن مظلوم را از ظالم گرفته بصاحب مال  
رسانند

و باقی

honoured by the kindness of his prince, brought forth Book II.  
all that he had, and laid it at the feet of his lord; and  
thus preserved both his influence and his honour.

AND I commanded that if any one of my soldiers, exceeding the limits prescribed him, should injure or oppress the weak and the helpless, he should be delivered into the hands of the injured person, that he might retaliate upon him.

AND if the chiefs or the nobles of any tribe or people extorted from the industrious husbandman his small pittance, I commanded that a fine should be levied on the guilty person in proportion to the degree of extortion, and to his ability to make retribution: and if the governor or superintendant should cruelly destroy the property of a subject, that he should be brought to punishment: but I ordained that after conviction, if the guilty person was fined, in that case corporal punishment should not be inflicted; and if corporal punishment was inflicted, I ordered that he should not be fined.

ROBBERS and thieves, in whatever place they might be found, or by whomsoever detected, I commanded to be put to death.

AND I ordained, that, if any one seized by violence the property of another, the value of that property should be taken from the oppressor, and be restored to the oppressed.

وباقی امور از دندان شکستن و چشم  
کور کردن و کوش بینی بریدن و شراب خوردن  
وزنا کردن اگر از کسی بوقوع آید در دیوان  
قاضی اسلام و قاضی احداث اجلاس نبوده آنچه  
امور شرعی باشند قاضی اسلام در آنها حکم نباید  
و آنچه عرفی باشد قاضی احداث تحقیق کرده  
بعرض من رساند

### تذکر نکاهداشت وزرا

امر نبودم در وزرا چهار صفت احتیاط  
نمایند اول اصالت و نجابت دویم عقل و کیاست  
سیوم سلوک و معاش با سپاه و رعیت چهارم بردباری  
و مسالمت

هرکس باین چهار صفت موصوف باشد  
ویرا قابل مرتبه وزارت دانند و وزیر و مشیر سازند  
و عنان امور مملکت و سپاه و رعیت بوی سپارند آنکاه  
ویرا بچهار چیز امتیاز بخشند اعتبار و اعتبار و اختیار  
و اقتدار

کامل

CONCERNING other crimes, the breaking Book II.  
of teeth, and the putting out of eyes, and the flitting  
and cutting off the ears and nose, and wine-drinking and  
adultery, I ordained that whoever should be guilty of  
these, or other crimes, they should be brought into the  
court of the ecclesiastical and civil judges : that the ec-  
clesiastical magistrate should decide on those causes, which  
are determinable by the sacred laws ; and that those which  
did not fall under his cognizance, should be investigated,  
and laid before me by the civil judge.

CONCERNING THE APPOINTMENT OF  
MINISTERS.

I ordained that in Vizzeers four qualities  
should be particularly attended to : First, firmness and  
generosity : Secondly, understanding and sagacity : Third-  
ly, the power of living in harmony with the soldiers and  
the subjects : Fourthly, patience under difficulties, and  
talents for the cultivation of peace and tranquillity :

THAT whoever was endowed with these  
four qualities should be considered as equal to the office  
of Vizzeer ; should be made both minister and coun-  
sellor, and the reins of the concerns of the government,  
of the army, and the subjects be delivered over to his  
care ; that preeminence should be conferred upon him  
by four things, confidence, and esteem, and discretionary  
power, and authority.

THAT

کامل الوزارت وزیري باشد که رتق  
 وفتق معاملات وامور ملکی و مال را از روی نیکی  
 و نیکذاتی، و حسن سلوک صورت دهد و از جایی که  
 نباید گرفت نگیرد و بجایی نباید داد ندهد و در  
 ملو امر و نواهی آثار نجابت و اصالت از وی ظاهر کردند  
 و نفاق و دراندازی از وی ظاهر نشود و نام همه کس از  
 سپاه و رعیت به نیکی برد ویدی هیچکس نکوید  
 و نشنود و اگر از کسی بدی دیده باشد چنان  
 سلوک نباید که آن شخص از بدی خود باز آید  
 و بد کننده خود را نیکی کند تا بسوی وی باز  
 گشت نباید

و هر وزیري که بد کوید و بد شنود  
 و دراندازی بکند و مردم نیک را خواهد بواسطه بدی  
 که بوی داشتند باشد خراب سازد و نیز از وزارت معزول  
 نباید

و بد ذاتان و حاسدان و کینه داران و اشرار را  
 وزارت ندهند چه اثری که از وزارت اشرار و سفلکان  
 مترتب کردند همین است که دولت و سلطنت زوده  
 روی بزوال آورد

چنانچه ملک شاه سلجوقی نظام الملک وزیر  
 خود را

THAT minister shall be equal to his office, Book II.  
 who ordereth and conducteth the affairs and concerns of  
 the government, of land, and of property, with upright-  
 ness, and integrity, and moderation; who taketh not  
 where it should not be taken, and remitteth not where  
 it should not be remitted; who in his ordinances and pro-  
 hibitions giveth proofs of lenity and of firmness; in whom  
 hypocrisy and dissimulation shall not appear; who speak-  
 eth well of the soldier and of the subject; and who nei-  
 ther heareth nor sayeth evil of another; who, if he dis-  
 covereth bad designs in any one, shall so conduct himself  
 towards him, that he shall turn back from his iniquitous  
 intentions; and who shall do good to the man who doeth  
 evil unto him, that he may return into the path of  
 friendship.

LET the Vizzeer who heareth and sayeth  
 evil of others, who soweth contention, and who endea-  
 voureth to ruin a good and virtuous man, from the malice  
 which he beareth unto him, be expelled from his office.

THE office of the Vizzaurut must not be  
 conferred on the wicked, the envious, the revengeful, or  
 the seditious: for the consequence that shall follow from  
 the administration of such men, is the speedy dissolution  
 of the imperial fortune and empire.

THUS it happened to Mullick Shaah Sil-  
 jokee. He disgraced his Vizzeer Nizzaum ul Moolluk,  
 who

خود را که تجمع صفات حسنه آراسته بود معزول ساخته و سفله شریری را بجای وی نصب کرد بشامت اعیال و شرارت و بد نفسی وی بنای سلطنتش روی بانهدام آورد

و همچنین معتصم بالله عباسی علقمی را که بصفه حسد و کینه موصوف بود وزیرا خود ساخت بواسطه کینه که از خلیفه در خاطر داشت بسخنان منافقانی خلیفه را بازی داد و هلاکو خان را ترغیب نموده بر سر خلیفه آورد و ویرا گرفتار ساخت و رسید بخلیفه آنچه رسید

پس وزیری را اختیار نباید که اصیل و نجیب و نیکذات و نیکو کار باشد که اصل خطا نکند و بد اصل وفا ننماید

و هر وزیری که از راه سلامتی نفس و راستی بامر وزارت قیام نماید و امور ملکی و مالی را از راه صواب و دیانت و امانت پرداخت کند و برا بهراتب عالیہ رسانند

وزیری

who was adorned with every great and shining quality ; Book II.  
and appointed an ignoble and worthless man in his place. {  
By the ill conduct, viciousness, and villainy of that minister the foundation of the power of Mullick Shaah was overturned.

IN this manner Al Kummi, who was noted for his malevolent and revengeful disposition, was raised to the dignity of first minister by Maatuffim Billau Ubbaufi. Influenced by the secret rancour which he harboured in his soul against the Khulleefeh, that wicked minister deceived his master with the language of treachery ; and exciting the ambition of Hullaukoo Khaun, drew the powerful arms of that prince on the head of the unsuspecting Khalif : he caused his person to be seized ; and that befell the Khalif which did befall him.

THEREFORE the Vizzeer to be chosen is a man of illustrious descent, and of a noble heart, and of a virtuous disposition, and of prudent conduct. The truly illustrious swerve not from their duty ; but in the base and ignoble fidelity and good faith are not to be found.

AND every Vizzeer who conducteth himself in his high station with uprightness and integrity ; who directeth the various departments of government with rectitude, and with fidelity, and with respect to the sacred laws, let him be exalted to the highest dignities.



وزیري که از شرارت و بد نفسي  
معاملات را انجام دهد زود باشد که خیر وبرکت از  
آن سلطنت برخیزد

وزیر دانا وزیري باشد که بدرشتي  
ونرمي کار کند نه بسیار درشت باشد و نه بسیار  
نرم اگر بسیار نرمي بکار برد دنیا طلبان و طماعان  
ویرا فرو برند اگر بسیار درشتي نباید از وی بگریزند  
و بوی رجوع ننمایند

پس وزیر دانا وزیري باشد که کارخانه  
سلطنت به حسن سلوک و فہیدگی نظام و انتظام  
دهد و در امور سلطنت تحمل و بردباري بکار  
برد و معاملات را بدرشتي و نرمي فیصل دهد

و این قسم وزیري را شریک دولت دانند  
چہ دولت سلطنت بیلک و خزانه و لشکر قائم باشد  
و این هر سه بوزیر دانا اصلاح و انجام یابد

وزیر جامع الاخلاق وزیري باشد کہ  
بواسطہ نا ملایہ کہ بوی رسد کینہ و نفاق را در  
دل

AND if the minister transacteth the important concerns of empire by villainy and artifice, it shall speedily happen that the power and prosperity of that empire shall pass away. Book II.

THAT MINISTER IS A WISE MINISTER, who in his conduct employeth both mildness and severity; who is neither immoderately severe, nor weakly compliant. For if he acteth with too much mildness and compliance, the avaricious and wordly-minded will oppress and bear him down: and if his severity be excessive, the people will fly from before him, and at all times avoid his presence.

THEREFORE THAT MINISTER IS A WISE MINISTER, who regulateth and giveth order to the edifice of royalty by a just knowledge of mankind, and by an uniform and prudent conduct; who in the execution of his office acteth with patience and forbearance, and conducteth the affairs of government with mildness and with severity.

LET such a Vizeer be considered as a friend and companion in the imperial dignity. For the dignity of empire is supported by extensive territories, by a rich treasury, and by numerous armies: and these three things shall be obtained and secured by a WISE MINISTER.

A PERFECT MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, who, in consequence of any harshness that shall be offered unto him, permitteth not revenge and enmity to take possession

دل خود راه ندهد اگر کینه دار و منافق باشد از  
وي پر حذر بايد بود که مبارا بدشمنان دولت  
سازگاري نهايد و خزانه و لشکر را مختل گرداند

وزير عاقل و زيرري باشد که رعيت را  
بيک دست کيرد و سپاه را بيک دست و از جاي، که  
نبايد گرفت نکيرد و بجاي، که نبايد داد ندهد  
و حزم و احتياط را از دست ندهد و پراستي و درستي  
معامله نهايد و نظر بر عواقب امور کند و در هنگامه  
رتق و فتق معاملات خصم را در مقابلۀ خود نه  
بيند

وزير کاردان کارگذار و زيرري باشد  
که معهوري مهلکت و رفاهت رعيت و جمعيت سپاه  
و توفير خزانه را در نظر داشته باشد و اموري که به  
دولت سلطنت نفع رساند در تهشيت آن سعي نهايد  
و اموري که بسلطنت ضرر رساند در دفع آن بهال  
و جان ساعي باشد و مهيات سپاه و رعيت را بر وجه  
خير و صلاح فيصل دهد

وزير

of his soul. If he be malignant, and harbour revenge, Book II.  
 he must be watched with care and with caution; lest he  
 enter into confederacies with the enemies of the imperial  
 power, and involve in confusion the revenues and the  
 army of his prince.

AN INTELLIGENT AND SAGACIOUS MINISTER IS  
 THAT MINISTER, who supporteth the subject with one  
 hand, and with the other hand holdeth up the soldier; who  
 receiveth not whence it should not be received; and who  
 giveth not where it should not be given; who letteth not  
 vigilance and circumspection forth from his hand; who  
 acteth with uprightness and integrity; who looketh for-  
 ward to the conclusion and consequences of every trans-  
 action; and who in negotiating the affairs of the empire  
 seeth not his enemy before him.

THAT MINISTER IS AN EXPERIENCED AND AC-  
 TIVE MINISTER, who keepeth in his eye the cultivation  
 and population of the country, and the prosperity of the  
 subjects, and the strength of the army, and the fulness  
 of the treasury; who exerteth himself in promoting  
 those measures which are profitable to government, and  
 hazardeth his fortune and his life in counteracting those,  
 from which evil may follow to the imperial dignity; and  
 who directeth the concerns of the soldier and the subject  
 with prudence and deliberation.

A vir-

ووزير نيكو محضر وزيرى باشد كه اعمال  
خيرش غالب بر افعال شر وي بود  
چنين بهسامع من رسيد كه افعال  
زمينه نظام الملك مغلوب اعمال خيرش بوده در آن  
وقتي كه وي اراده حج كرد يكي از رجال الله  
بوي گفت هيمن عمل خيرى كه در دولت ملكشاه  
از تو صادر ميشود كه بندهاي خدا از تو نفع مي  
بينند برابر حج است

وبعرض من رسيد كه علي بن لقطي  
كه وزير هارون الرشيد بود چون نفع وي بخلق  
خدا بسيار ميرسيد روزي كه اراده ترك وزارت نمود  
يكي از ابيه دين بوي نوشت كه ترا است كه بر  
درگاه خليفه ملازم امر وزارت باشي وجدايء اختيار  
نكني كه امداد و نفعي كه به بندگان خدا ميرساني  
سر آمد جميع اعمال و افعال حسنه تو باشد

وچنين شنيدم كه چون از حضرت  
رسول صلي الله عليه وسلم سوال كردند كه اگر  
شبهة نبوت و رسالت مبعوث نهي شديد بقدام كار  
اشتغال

A VIRTUOUS MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, Book II.  
whose good qualities predominate over his failings.

THUS I have heard, that the failings of Nizzaum ul Moolluk were vanquished by his virtues. At that time when he resolved to perform the holy pilgrimage, one of the men of God said unto him; "Thy good actions which shine forth in the glory and the power of Mullick Shaah, and the blessings which the people of the Almighty receive from thy hands, are equal to all the merits of pilgrimage and of sanctity."

AND it has also been related unto me, that on the day when Aali Ben Luckti, who was the minister of Hauroon ul Rusheed, determined to retire from the Vizzaurut; as his administration had been favourable to the people of God, one of the holy priests wrote to him, saying, "Thou shalt continue to execute thy office in the palace of the Khalif; thou shalt not relinquish thy authority: for the comforts and the benefits which thou conferrest on the servants of the Almighty, are superior to all the good and glorious actions of thy life."

AND so also I have heard, that when it was demanded of the holy prophet; (on whom be the protection of God) "If thou hadst not been sent forth the messenger and prophet of the Almighty, what occupation wouldest thou have chosen?" He answered, saying,

اشتغال میفرمودید فرمودند که خدمت سلاطین  
اختیار میکردم تا بخلق خدا نفع رسانم

از این جهت بود که وزارت و سپهسالاری  
الیاس خواجه پسر تغلقتیپور خان را قبول کرده بودم  
که امداد خلق نهیم و از مددکاری خلق خدا بود  
که الله تعالی مرا بهرتبه سلطنت رسانید

وزیري که بتدبیر و شہسیر ملکی را  
مسخر سازد یا نکاهداری ملک نباید آن وزیر را عزیز  
و محترم دارند و بر مراتبش بسینفرایند و ویرا صاحب  
السیف و القلم خطاب دهند

وزیر خردمند و هوشمند وزیري باشد  
که برای و تدبیر لشکریا متفرق سازد و بسازگاری  
و خوش سلوک لشکریا متفق گرداند و افواج دشمن را  
بخود رام کند و نگاهبان ولی نعمت خود باشد و هر  
مہمی و مشکلی که پادشاه را پیش آید به رای  
و تدبیر و دور بینی آن مشکل را آسان گرداند اگر  
بستگی

saying, "I would have fought the service of princes; Book II.  
 "that I might have been able to do good to the servants  
 "of my Creator."

AND it was on this account that I consented to accept the employments of minister and general from Ouleaus Khaujeh, the son of Tughulluk Timour Khaun; that I might succour and support the people. And from the assistance and protection which I afforded to his servants, it may have come to pass that Almighty God hath exalted me to the throne of empire.

AND if a minister by skilful measures, or by the sword, conquereth or saveth a kingdom, let him be held in honour and respect; and let him be exalted and stiled, THE LORD OF THE SWORD AND THE PEN.

A SKILFUL AND ABLE MINISTER IS THAT MINISTER, who, when necessary, can by his counsels and abilities disperse and divide the power of armies; and who, when occasion calleth, can by well-adapted and skilful measures unite them together; who hath the capacity to sow divisions among the forces of the enemy, and to make them subservient to his views, and to be the conservator of his prince and master; who can, by his sagacity, and wisdom, and foresight resolve and render easy the momentous concerns and difficulties which surround a king; and who,



بستگی در امور سلطنت بهم رسد آنرا بسر انگشت  
عقل و فکر بکشاید

چنانچه در وقتی که علی بیک چون  
غربانی مرا در بند انداخت و در خانه پر از کیک  
مقید ساخت عزیز الدین که از وزرای من بود از  
ترمذ ایلغار کرده خود را بمن رسانید و علی بیک را  
در خواب کرد و چشم ویرا از من پوشانید و مرا  
قوت داد تا بهزوی شجاعت و مردی بضرب شمشیر  
از میان نگاهبانان بر آمده نجات یافتم چنانچه  
نظام الملک سلطان ملکشاه را از بند قیصر خلاص  
ساخت

پس این چنین وزیری را شریک دولت  
دانند و عزیز دارند و از گفتار او تجاوز نمایند که  
آنچه گوید همه از روی عقل باشد

اگر پادشاه ظالم باشد و وزیرش عادل  
بود تدارک ظلم پادشاه میشود لیکن اگر وزیر ظالم  
باشد زود باشد که سلسله امور سلطنت بر هم  
خورد

تنوک

if the affairs of empire be involved in confusion, can reduce them to order by the hand of understanding and reflection. Book II.

THUS at the time that Aali Beg Choun Ghoorbauni seized on my person, and confined me in a loathsome dungeon, filled with vermin; Aazeez u deen, who was one of my Vizzeers, came to me from Turmuz with speed; and lulling to sleep the attention of Aali Beg, and hiding his eyes from his prisoner, he gave such vigour to my hopes, that with the arm of fortitude and resolution, and by the edge of the sword, I extricated myself from the guards which were stationed over me, and recovered my freedom. In the like manner Nizzaum ul Moolluk delivered Mullick Shaah from the hands of Keefur.

LET therefore such a minister be accounted the companion of the imperial fortune; let him be treated with kindness and affection; and let not his counsels be disregarded: for that which he sayeth, proceedeth from wisdom and understanding.

If a king be oppressive, and his Vizzeer be just, the oppressions of the king are moderated and rectified by the justice of the Vizzeer; but if the Vizzeer be oppressive, the affairs of that government shall be speedily involved in confusion.

تزوگ مرتبه امارت وایالت

امر نهودم که به سیصد و سیزده مرد که  
 نوگران خاص الخاص من بودند امارت بدهند  
 واین مردم بودند که باصالت و نجابت و عقل و کیاست  
 و تهور و شجاعت و تدبیر و حزم و احتیاط و دور بینی و عاقبت  
 اندیشی موصوف بودند

واز برای هریک کوتل \* تعیین کردم اگر  
 یکی از ایشان را موت و فوت پیش آید آن کوتل  
 جانشین وی باشد و آن کوتل را منتظر الامارت نام  
 تهازم

واین سیصد و سیزده امیر من صاحبان  
 عقل و هوش و بزم و رزم و صف آرای و لشکر شکنی  
 بودند

و بتجربه من رسیده که لایق امارت  
 وایالت مردی تواند بود که رموز جنگ و شیوه شکست  
 دادن غنیم را در یابد و وقت جنگ دل از دست ندهد  
 و دست و پا کم نکند و افواج را کار بفرماید و اگر  
 در صفوف لشکر رخنه بظهور رسد آن رخنه را تواند  
 بر بست

وامیر

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE AP- Book II.  
POINTMENT OF SUPERIOR OFFICERS.

I commanded that three hundred and thirteen persons from among my chosen and superior servants should be advanced to exalted dignities. And those were men who were renowned for their high lineage, and for nobleness of mind, and for understanding, and for penetration, and for resolution, and for intrepidity, and for skill, and for vigilance, and for caution, and for foresight, and for deep reflection.

AND to each of them I appointed another person, who on the death of the first should succeed to his rank and dignity; and him I entitled AN EXPECTER OF PREFERMENT.

AND these three hundred and thirteen Amceers were men of judgement and of knowledge; and they were learned in the arts of peace and of war; and they were skilled in the evolutions of armies, and in breaking the lines of the enemy.

FOR by experience it is known unto me, that he only is equal to stations of power and dignity, who is well acquainted with the military art, and with the various modes of breaking and defeating hostile armies; who in the hour of battle giveth not his heart forth from his hand, nor permitteth apprehension and terror to take possession of his soul; who can direct the efforts of his troops; and if their ranks be thrown into confusion, can by his abilities restore them to order.

He

وامیر الامرا او تواند بود که در بزم و رزم  
 نایب و قسام مقام من باشد و بشوکت و مهابت تواند  
 که لشکر را کار فرماید و هر کس را که مخالفت وی  
 کند تواند که سیاست نماید

وامر نمودم که از جمله سیصد و سیزده  
 نفر چهار کس بیکلر بیکی باشند و یک نفر امیر  
 الامراء مقرر باشد که حکم وی در یساقها و جنگها بر  
 امرا و سایر سپاه جاری باشد و وی در حضور من نایب  
 من باشد

دوازده مرد دیکر را که صاحب غیرت  
 و ناموس بودند بدین ترتیب امارت دارم

امیر اول را امارت هزار کس داده بر  
 ایشان امیر گردانیدم و امیر دوم را امارت دو هزار کس  
 دادم و بر آن دو هزار کس امیر ساختم همچنین  
 امیر سوم و چهارم و پنجم را بر سه هزار چهار هزار پنج  
 هزار کس امیر گردانیدم تا دوازده امیر بهین ترتیب  
 بر شش هزار کس تا دوازده هزار کس امیر ساختم  
 و هیک را بترتیب امارت نایب دیکری مقرر نمودم

چنانچه امیر اول نایب امیر دوم و امیر  
 دوم

HE is capable of filling the station of chief Book II.  
of the Omraus, who is worthy of being my lieutenant  
in peace and in war ; who can rule the armies with ma-  
jesty and with authority ; and who hath the vigour to  
chastize those who rise in opposition to his commands.

I commanded, that of the fore-going three  
hundred and thirteen Ameers, four should be appointed  
Beglerbeks ; † and that one should be exalted to the dig-  
nity of Ameer ul Omrau : whose authority should be  
over the Ameers and the army, in the field and in action ;  
and who in my presence should act as my deputy.

TWELVE OTHER PERSONS, MEN OF RE-  
PUTATION AND RENOWN, I EXALTED TO HIGH  
COMMANDS, ACCORDING TO THIS ORDER.

To the first Ameer I gave in charge a  
thousand men, and appointed him commander over them.  
And to the second Ameer I gave the command of two  
thousand men ; and appointed him their chief. And, in  
the same manner, to the third, and the fourth, and the  
fifth Ameer I gave the command of three, and four,  
and five thousand men : and thus from the sixth to the  
twelfth Ameer, from six thousand up to twelve thousand.  
And each, according to his rank, I appointed the deputy  
and representative of his superior.

Thus I appointed the first Ameer the de-  
puty of the second, and the second Ameer the deputy of

† i. e. Generals or commanders of the first rank.

دوم نایب سیوم همچنین امیر یازدهم را نایب امیر  
دوازدهم ساختم و امیر دوازدهم نایب امیر الامرا باشد  
و امیر الامرا نایب من باشد تا اگر قضیه پیش آید  
نایب قائم مقام وی گردد

واز جمله سیصد و سیزده مرد امر نمودم  
که صد مرد را اون باشی نهایند و صد کس را یوز  
باشی و صد کس را مینک باشی

وامر کردم که در وقت چار و پلچار\* امیر  
الامرا بامرا و مینک باشیان و یوز باشیان و اون باشیان  
خبر رسانند و کار اون باشی را به یوز باشی نفرمایند  
همچنین کار یوز باشی را به مینک باشی  
و کار مینک باشی را بامیر و کار امیر را بامیر الامرا  
نفرمایند

و مهي که باون باشی بانجام رسد به  
یوز باشی محتاج نشوند و همچنین کاری که از یوز  
باشی بر آید بتینک باشی محتاج نکرده اند  
و هر یک از امرا که از روی رغبت کار  
طلب باشد بوی نفرمایند

تزرک

the third; thus also the eleventh Ameer the deputy of <sup>Book II.</sup> the twelfth Ameer, and the twelfth Ameer the deputy of the Ameer ul Omrau, and the Ameer ul Omrau my deputy: that if an accident should happen, the one might supply the place of another.

I also commanded that from amongst these three hundred and thirteen Ameers, a hundred should be stiled Ounbaufhees, that one other hundred should be called Euzbaufhees, and that the third hundred should be stiled Mingbaufhees.

AND I ordained that in times of service the Ameer ul Omrau should issue orders to the Ameers, and the Mingbaufhees, and the Euzbaufhees, and the Ounbaufhees: and that the duty of the Ounbaufhee should not be imposed on the Euzbaufhee; and in the like manner that the duty of the Euzbaufhee should not be imposed on the Mingbaufhee; nor the duty of the Mingbaufhee on the Ameer; nor the duty of the Ameer on the Ameer ul Omrau:

AND that on such service as might be executed by an Ounbaufhee, an Euzbaufhee should not be ordered; and that a Mingbaufhee should not be sent on a service which could be performed by an Euzbaufhee:

AND that every one of the Ameers, who, from a spirit of enterprise, demanded employment, that his request should be granted.



تزرک تربیت سپاه از مرتبه ادنی تا  
بمرتبه اعلی

امر نمودم که از بهادرانیکه که  
ششیر نمایان زده باشد در ششیر اول اون باشی  
نهایند و در ششیر دوم یوز باشی کنند و در ششیر  
سیوم مینک باشی سازند و تابینان اون باشی را در  
ششیر اول اون باشی گردانند

وامر نمودم که ششیر حفظ را منظور  
ندارند که کاهو هم شاخ میزنند پس نظر بر اصالت  
ونجابت سپاهی هم باید کرد

ومینک باشی چون بضرب ششیر  
فوجی را بشکند امیر اول گردانند و امیر اول چون  
صف شکنی نماید امیر دوم سازند و همچنین هر  
امیری که کار نمایان کرده فوج شکنی کند از  
مرتبه وی بالاتر ترقی نمایند و سایر سپاه چون  
ششیر بزنند علوفه ایشان بیفزایند

وهر

REGULATIONS OF PROMOTIONS AND REWARDS TO MY SOLDIERS FROM THE MEANEST TO THE MOST EXALTED. Book II.

I ordained, if any one of my select soldiers distinguished himself in battle, that in recompence for the first exploit he should be made an Ounbaushee, and for the second exploit an Euzbaushee, and for the third exploit a Mingbaushee; and that the Taubeenaun† of the Ounbaushee should for the first exploit be raised to the rank of Ounbaushee.

I ordained also, that an atchievement which sprung from attention to personal safety in the moment of peril, should not be regarded: for the ox will sometimes strike with his horns, and turn upon his pursuers. Therefore the firmness and the spirit of the soldiers must also be considered.

I commanded, when a Mingbaushee vanquished the forces of his antagonist by the edge of the sword, that he should be raised to the rank of first Ameer: and that the first Ameer, on defeating the army of his foe, should be appointed second Ameer: and thus, that every Ameer who signalized his valour and abilities, and overthrew the forces of his enemy, should be promoted from his own to a superior station: and that the private soldiers who distinguished themselves in battle, should be rewarded by an increase of pay.

† i.e. The inferior to the Ounbaushee.

وهر سپاهي که در وقت کار روي  
 گرداند ويرا کورنش ندهند واکر مضطر شده روي  
 گردان شده باشد معذورش دارند واکر واهمه بر  
 وي غلبه کرده باشد ويرا باولي\* بدهند وهر سپاهي  
 که شمشير زند و زخم بردارد ويرا جلدو\* بدهند واکر  
 زخم برداشته رو گردان شده باشد ويرا تحسین  
 نهانند و زخم خوردن ويرا اعتبار کنند که اگر وي به  
 غنیمت نرسیده باشد اما غنیمت بوي رسیده و زخم وي  
 گواه حال وي باشد

و حق سپاهي را ضایع نسازند وهر سپاهي  
 که به پيري رسد ويرا از علوفه ومرتبه محروم و معزول  
 نگردانند و کار سپاه را پوشیده ندارند و مردم سپاهي  
 که حیات باقي خود را بهال فاني میفروشند مستحق  
 جلدو\* باشند و لایق انعام و تربیت اگر ويرا از انعام  
 محروم سازند و کارش را پوشیده دارند بي انصافي  
 کرده باشند

وامر نمودم که هر اميري ووزيري و سپاهي  
 که حق خدمت بر دولت من ثابت کرده باشد

† This word is Mogul, and the meaning unknown.  
 ولشكري

To every foldier who turned his back in Book II.  
 the hour of action, I ordered that Koornish † should not  
 be given ; and that if he fled from absolute neceffity,  
 he fhould be pardoned ; and that if he fhould be ftruck  
 with a panic, and fly in confequence thereof, that he  
 fhould be pardoned alfo ; ‡ and that to every foldier,  
 who fhould fight with refolution, and be wounded in  
 action, a compenfation fhould be given ; and that if he  
 fhould be wounded in battle, and then retire from the  
 field, his conduct fhould be applauded. The wound  
 which he had received fhould be confidered as a proof,  
 that if he reached not to the enemy, yet the arm of the  
 enemy extended unto him : his wound fhould be a wit-  
 nefs in his favour.

I ordained that the right of the warrior  
 fhould not be injured ; and that the foldier who had  
 grown in years fhould not be deprived of his ftation or  
 his wages ; and that the actions of the foldier fhould not  
 be fuppreffed : for thofe men who fell their permanent  
 happinefs for perifhable honour, merit compenfation, and  
 are worthy of reward and encouragement. If a foldier  
 fhould be deprived of his reward, and his actions fhould  
 be hidden from the light, it would be an act of injuftice.

I ordained that every chief, minifter, and  
 foldier, who by his fervices had eftablifhed a claim on  
 my fortune ; who had defeated an army, or reduced a

† The Mogul word is *Berunuli*, and the fenfe is doubtful.  
 king-

ولشکري را شکست داده يا ملکي را مسخر نموده  
يا شهبيري زده باشد حق خدمت ويرا منظور دارند  
و حق ويرا ادا نمايند

وپيران سپاهرا بعزت بدارند و سخنان از  
ايشان بشنوند که آنچه ايشان بگويند از تجربه خواهد  
بود و ايشانرا مصالح کارخانه سلطنت دانند بعد از  
ايشان فرزندان ايشان را قايم مقام ايشان نمايند

وامر نمودم که هر سپاهي از جانب غنيم  
گرفتار گردد ويرا نکشند و مختار گردانند اگر  
نوکري قبول کند نوکر سازند والا آزاد گردانند  
چنانچه من چهار هزار رومي را آزاد کردم

وهر سپاه که از جانب غنيم شهبير زند  
و حق نیک بجاي آورد خواه از روي اختيار خواه از  
روي اضطرار اگر التجا بدرگاه من آورد بسوي  
اعتقاد نمايند و عزيز دارند که وفاداري بصاحب خود  
کرده و حق نیک بجاي آورده

چنانچه من به شير بهرام کردم که وي  
در جنگ امير حسين بين در جنگ رو بر رو شد  
و شهبيرها نهايان زد چون از روي اضطرار بهن پناه  
آورد ويرا احترام کردم  
و منکلي

kingdom, or distinguished his valour in the hour of battle; that his claims should be regarded, and that the price of his services should be paid unto him : Book II.

AND that the aged warriors should be treated with honour and attention ; and that their counsel and opinion should be heard ( for that which they say, must proceed from experience ) and that they should be considered as the ornaments of my empire ; and that on their demise, their sons should succeed to their stations and dignities.

I ordained that the hostile soldier taken in battle should not be put to death ; and that military service and freedom should be offered to his choice ; that if he consented to enter into my service, he should be received ; if not, that he should be set at liberty. In this manner I once gave freedom to 4000 Roomi. †

I ordered that every soldier who had performed his duty, and fought with valour on the side of my enemy, if, from choice or necessity, he sought shelter under my authority, that he should be received with confidence, and treated with honour and regard : since he had performed his duty, and acted with fidelity to his former master.

THUS I rewarded Share Behraum ; who in an action with Ameer Hoossein opposed me face to face, and fought with astonishing valour : when through necessity he fled to me for protection, I received him with honour.

† Turks.

THUS

ومنکلي بوغا در جنگ بلخ بر من لشکر  
کشید و من پیش از جنگ بوي پیغام داده خواستم  
بطرف خود بکشم وي نهک تغلقتیپور خان را فراموش  
نکرد و لشکر آرای کرده یا من جنگ مرداني کرد  
وهزیمت یافت

وروزي که از روي اختیار بین التجا  
آورد وزانو زد پایه قدر و مرتبه ویرا بلند ساختم و مشهور  
عنایت خود گردانیدم و چندان عنایت کردم که آنچه  
در خاطر داشت فراموش کرد و ویرا در هر مجلس  
آفرین و رحمت باد میگفتم

چون مردی بود مردانه در دولت من  
کارهء مردانه نمایان کرد و مارا مهنون ساخت و در  
جنگ از ریا بجان که با قرا یوسف مقابله اتفاق افتاد  
وقتي که سپاه من مضطرب شده بودند وي سري از  
سرهای سران لشکر قرا یوسف را بر سر نیزه کرده بلند  
ساخت و سر قرا یوسف نام نهاد و در لشکر داد که  
قرا یوسف کشته شده و لشکر را دل داد و بر قلب فوج  
قرا یوسف هجوم آورد و قرا یوسف را هزیمت داد و من  
فتح قرا یوسف را بنام وي نوشتم و بر مراتبش افزودم  
تزرک

THUS also Munguli Booghau, in the war of Bullukh, advanced with an army against me; and before the engagement commenced, I sent proposals unto him, and endeavoured to draw him over to my side. But he forgot not his duty to Tughulluk Timour Khaun; and he formed his troops in order of battle, and he charged my forces with undaunted resolution, and he was defeated. Book II.

AND when he afterwards voluntarily came unto me, and kneeled to my authority, I raised him to an exalted station, and I included him in the number of my most favoured servants; and on all occasions I praised and applauded his conduct. And such were the favours which I conferred upon him, that if any resentment remained in his heart, it was totally obliterated.

As he was a bold and intrepid warrior, he signalized himself in my service, and conferred obligations upon me. And in the war of Azzurbauejaun, when I encountered Kurrau Eusoof, in the moment that my troops were discouraged and thrown into confusion, he placed upon the point of his spear the head of an hostile commander; and he named it the head of Kurrau Eusoof, and called aloud to my forces, that Kurrau Eusoof was slain; and he gave courage to my soldiers. And he rushed on the centre of Kurrau Eusoof's line, and drove him from the field. And this victory over Kurrau Eusoof I imputed to Munguli Booghau; and I exalted him to a superior rank.



تذک تربیت کردن امرا ووزرا و سپاه  
و رعیت بانعام و جلدو\*

امر کردم که هر امیری که ملکی را مسخر گرداند  
یا لشکری را شکست دهد ویرا بسه چیز امتیاز دهند  
مخطاب و طوغ و نقاره و ویرا بهادر لقب کنند و شریک  
دولت و سلطنت دانند و در مجلس کنکاش داخل  
سازند و ولایت سرحد بوی حواله نمایند و امرا را تابع  
وی گردانند و هر امیری که توره را بشکند یا امیر  
زاده را شکست دهد یا خانی را منهزم اوزا بهمان  
روش بنوازند

چنانچه امیر ایکو تیهور را که بر  
اوس خان تعیین نمودم و ویرا شکست داد بوی  
توهمان و طوغ و علم و نقاره دادم و ویرا شریک دولت  
خود ساختم و وزیر و مشیر خود گردانیدم و در کنکاش  
خود داخل گردانیده سرحد ارزانی داشتم و امرا را  
بوی تابع گردانیدم

و حاسدان در حق وی سخنان گفتند  
که اوس خان را غارت کرده و اموال و اسباب را

\* A kind of kettle-drum.

خود

REGULATIONS FOR ENCOURAGING MY Book II.  
 AMEERS, AND MY VIZZEERS, AND MY SOLDIERS,  
 AND MY SUBJECTS, BY REWARDS AND BY HONOURS.

I ordained that every Ameer who should reduce a kingdom, or defeat an army, should be exalted by three things, by a title of honour, by the standard, and by the Niccaureh; † and that he should be dignified with the appellation of Bahaudur; ‡ and that he should be considered as the associate of the royal power and dignity; and that he should be admitted a member of my imperial council; and that the government of a frontier province should be conferred upon him; and that Ameers should be placed under his command. I also ordained that every Ameer who defeated a prince, or the son of a prince, or a Khaun, should be exalted after the same manner.

THUS I rewarded Ameer Eekoo Timour; whom I had appointed to reduce Auroos Khaun. He conquered that prince; and I conferred upon him a Toumaun, || the standard, the military ensign, and the Niccaureh; I made him the associate of my fortune; and I appointed him my Vizzeer and my adviser; and I gave him a place in my imperial council; and I conferred upon him the government of a frontier province; and I placed Ameers under his command.

AND the envious uttered insinuations against him, that he had plundered the hord of Auroos Khaun, and that he had taken the spoils to himself.

† The Brave.

|| The command of 10,000 men.

خود متصرف شده و ازین سخنان مزاج مرا از وي منحرف ساختند لیکن قصه بهرام جوبین که بهسامع من رسیده بود بتجربه برداشته بودم

که چون خاقان سیصد هزار ترک خونخوار بر هرمز بن نوشروان لشکر کشید و وي بهرام جوبین را که وزیر و مشیر و سپه سالار نوشروان بود با سیصد بیست هزار مرد ایرانی رو بر رو خاقان فرستاد و وي در مقابله خاقان در آمد و سه شبان روز در قتال وجدال بود تا آنکه خاقانرا شکست داد و حقیقت را بهرمز عرضه داشت نبود و غنایبی که بدست آورده بود بخدمت هرمز فرستاد

و حاسدان و غمازان که در مجلس هرمز راه سخن داشتند غمازی نهوده گفتند که بهرام مبلغهای کلي در میان نگاهداشت و شبشیر و کلاه مرصع و موزه مکمل به جواهر قیمتی خاقان را خود متصرف شده و هرمز از خام طبعی کار و خدمت بهرام را پوشیده داشت و سخن اهل غرض و ارباب افترا را راست دانست و ویرا خاین و کینه کار ساخت و از برای وي معجری زنان و طوق و زنجیر فرستاد

و بهرام

And my affections were turned aside from Eekoo Timour by their insinuations : but I had heard the history of Behraum Joubeen, and from thence I had acquired experience.

FOR when the Khaukaun advanced against Hurmuz, the son of Nousharevaun, with an army of three hundred thousand sanguinary Toorks ; that prince sent forth Behraum Joubeen (who had been the minister, and the counsellor, and the general of his father) with three hundred and twenty thousand Persians, to oppose him. And he engaged that prince ; and for three days, and for three nights, the slaughter continued with great fury ; till at length he defeated the Khaukaun, and dispatched intelligence of his victory to Hurmuz : and he also sent unto him the spoils which he had taken.

AND the envious and the slanderous, who influenced the councils of Hurmuz, forged accusations against him, saying, " Behraum hath secreted the treasures of the enemy ; and he hath seized to himself the sword, and the crown, and the buskins of the Khaukaun (ornamented and adorned with jewels of price)."

AND Hurmuz, from a mean and contemptible avarice, forgot the services of Behraum ; and he credited the accusations of the slanderous and self-interested, and pronounced him a traitor and a criminal ; and, *in token of his anger and contempt*, sent a chain unto him, and a collar, and the veil of a woman.

AND

وبهرام طوق در کردن وزنجیر در پاء کرده  
لباس زنان پوشید و امرا و سران سپاه را طلب نهوده  
در بار عام داد و چون سرداران و سایر سپاه این حال  
مشاهده نمودند هرگز را مطعون داشته دل خودها را از  
اخلاص هرگز برداشتند

و باتفاق بهرام جویین بدرگاه هرگز آمده  
ویرا از سلطنت خلع نمودند و خسرو پرویز را بر تخت  
سلطنت مهلکت عجم نشاندند

چون این تجربه برداشته بودم بجهت  
این که مطعون سپاه نکردم امیر ایکو تیهورا طلب  
داشته مجلس آراستم و بار عام دادم و اموال و اشیایی  
که از الوس اروس خان غنیمت شده بود همه را جمع  
آورده بامیر ایکو تیهور و دیگر بهادران و سپاهیان که  
همراه وی شهبیرها زده بودند انعام فرمودم

و امر نمودم که هر امیری که در هنگام  
جنگ خود را نگاهدارد و فوج مقابل خود را بشکند در  
مرتبه اش بیفزایند

چنانچه

AND Behraum Joubeen placed the collar Book II.  
on his neck, and on his feet he fastened the chain, and  
he cloathed himself in the female attire. And he called  
the Ameer and the chiefs of the soldiers together, and,  
thus habited, he gave public audience to his people. And  
when the chiefs and the forces beheld the situation of  
Behraum, they uttered revilings against their prince, and  
they turned their hearts from their duty to Hurmuz.

AND under the banners of Behraum Jou-  
been, they proceeded to the palace of the King; and  
they deprived him of his regal authority; and they seated  
Khiffuro Purvaze upon the throne of the Persian empire.

HAVING acquired this experience, that I  
might not draw upon me the revilings of my people, I  
ordered Eekoo Timour to appear before me; and I seated  
myself on my throne in the midst of my chiefs; and I  
gave admission to the people at large. And I commanded  
the wealth and the effects which had been taken from the  
tribe of Auroos Khaun to be brought forth; and I con-  
ferred the whole of the spoils on Ameer Eekoo Timour,  
and on the warriors and the soldiers who had fought under  
his command.

AND I ordained that every Ameer who  
acted with firmness in the day of battle, and defeated the  
enemy opposed unto him, should be promoted to a supe-  
rior station.

THUS,

چنانچه تابان بهادر خود را در جنگ  
تو قتمش خان بعلمدار رسانید و علم ویرا نکون ساخت  
وزخها برداشت مدعیان و حاسدان وی خواستند که  
کار ویرا بپوشند از انصاف من نکنجید که از  
کار وی چشم پوشم و بوی امارت دادم و تربیت کردم  
و علم بوی ارزانی داشتم

وامر نمودم که چون یکی از اون باشیان  
ویوز باشیان و مینک باشیان فوج شکنی نباید در  
جلدوی\* اون باشی حکومت شهری بدهند و در جلدوی  
یوز باشی حکومت مهلکتی ارزانی دارند

چنانچه برلاس بهادر که یوز باشی  
بود در جنگ تو قتمش خان به غنیم خود رو بر رو  
شد و فوج غنیم را شکست داد حکومت مهلکت حصار  
شادمان را بوی مقرر داشتم

وامر نمودم که چون مینک باشی  
فوج غنیم خود را شکست دهد ویرا والی مهلکت  
گردانند چنانچه محمد ازاد در جنگ کتور جباعه  
سپاه پوشانرا که برهان اغلان را هزیت داده بودند  
شکست

THUS, in an engagement with Touktummish Khaun, Taubaun Bahaudur penetrated to the standard-bearer of that prince, and inverted the standard; and he was wounded in many places. And his enemies and the enviers of his renown sought to bury his valour in oblivion: but it was not consistent with my justice that I should shut my eyes to the merits of Taubaun. And I exalted him to a government; and I received him into my favour; and I conferred upon him the standard of honour.

AND I ordained, if an Ounbaushee, or an Euzbaushee, or a Mingbaushee Ameer should vanquish the forces of an enemy; that in reward to an Ounbaushee the government of a city should be given; and that the reward of an Euzbaushee should be the command of a province.

THUS, to Burlaus Bahaudur, who was an Euzbaushee, and who in the war with Touktummish Khaun engaged his enemy and defeated the army of the foe, I gave the command of the province of Hissaur Shaudumaun.

AND I ordained, when a Mingbaushee defeated the forces of his antagonist, that he should be appointed the lord of a principality. Thus, when Mahumud Auzaud, in the war of Kuttour, vanquished the Seah poshaun, † who had defeated Burhaun Aghlaun, I

† *Wearers of black*; so named from the colour of their habits. They inhabited the mountains south of Buddukhsaun.



شکست داده بود وبرا والي مہکت قندز وکولاب  
گردانیدم  
وامر نمودم کہ ہریک از امرا کہ  
مہکتی را مسخر گردانیدہ از تصرف غنیم بر آورد  
آن مہکت را تا سه سال بانعام وي مقرر دارند

وامر کردم کہ بہادری کہ شہشیر زند  
کلنک\* یا اتاقہ\* مرصع وکہر وشہشیر واسپ بجلدوي  
وي ارزاني دارند و بہرتبہ اون باشي امتیاز دهند تا  
آنکہ در شہشیر دویم و سیوم بہرتبہ یوز باشي ومینک  
باشي برسد

تنوک عطای طبل و علم  
امر نمودم کہ بہریک از امرای دوازدهکانہ  
یک علم و نقارہ بدهند وبامیر الامرا علم و نقارہ  
وتومان طوغ وچر طوغ ارزاني دارند  
ومینک باشي را طوغي ونفیری بدهند  
ویوز باشي واون باشي را طبل بدهند وبہ امرای

† These words are Mogul, and their significations unknown.

‡ A belt, or girdle.

|| The Toumaun Toghe and Cher Toghe are also a sort of standards or spears,

appointed him to the dominion of the principality of Book II.  
Kunduz and Goulaub.

AND I ordained, whoever of my Ameers subdued and wrested a kingdom from the hands of the enemy, that for the space of three years the vicegerency of that kingdom should be conferred upon him as a reward.

AND I commanded that the select soldier who distinguished himself in battle, should be rewarded with a Kullung, † or embroidered Autaukeh, † with a horse, and with a sword, and with a Kummur; ‡ and that he should be raised to the rank of an Ounbaushee : so that for the second, and the third atchievement he might rise to the stations of Euzbaushee, and of Mingbaushee.

#### REGULATIONS FOR CONFERRING THE HONOURS OF THE NICCAUREH AND THE STANDARD.

I ordained that one standard, and one Niccaureh should be conferred on each of the twelve select Ameers ; and that the standard, and the Niccaureh, and the Toumaun Toghe, and the Cher Toghe, || should be granted to the Ameer ul Omrau :

AND that a Toghe, and a Nuffeer § should be allowed to the Mingbaushee Ameer, and a drum to the Euzbaushee and Ounbaushee Ameers ; and that to the

spears, with certain figures on the summit, marking the rank and dignity of those to whom they belong.

§ A sort of trumpet.

اویاتان برغوي \* ارزاني دارند و پچهار بيگلر بيگي  
هريك علم و نقاره و چر طوغ و برغوي بدهند

و هريك از امرا كه فوج شكني نهايند  
يا ملكي مسخر سازند اكر امير اول باشد امير دويم  
سازند و اكر امير دويم باشد بهرتبه امير سيوم رسانند  
و اكر امير سيوم باشد بهرتبه امير چهارم رسانند  
همچنين تا يازدهم كه اكر امير يازدهم باشد  
امير دوازدهم گردانند و علم و طوغ و نقاره بدهند

چنانچه بامير اول يك طوغ و بامير  
دوم دو و سيوم سه و بامير چهارم چهار طوغ و نقاره  
بدهند تا آنكه خود را بهرتبه تومان طوغ و چر طوغ  
رسانند

تزوك سامان و سر انجام سپاه  
امر نمودم كه ساير سپاه در  
يساقها هژده نفر يك خيه بردارند و هريك نفر  
دو

Ouyemauk Ameers † an Eurghee ‡ should be granted ; and that to each of the four Beglerbegs a standard, and a Niccaureh, and a Cher Toghe, and an Eurghee should be allowed. Book II.

AND I ordained that every Ameer who vanquished an army, or who conquered a country, if he were a first Ameer, that he should be exalted to the rank of second Ameer ; and if he were a second Ameer, that he should be raised to the rank of third Ameer ; and if he were a third Ameer, that he should be exalted to the dignity of fourth Ameer : and thus up to the eleventh Ameer. For if he were eleventh Ameer, I commanded that he should be appointed twelfth Ameer ; and that the standard, and the Toghe and the Niccaureh should be conferred upon him.

THUS I ordained that one Toghe should be allowed to the first Ameer, and two to the second, and three to the third, and to the fourth Ameer four Toghes, and the Niccaureh : that by their valour and their conduct they might acquire to themselves the dignity of the Toumaun Toghe and the Cher Toghe.

#### REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE ARMS, AND THE NECESSARIES OF THE SOLDIERS.

FOR the private soldiers I ordained, that on an expedition every eighteen men should take one

† Chiefs of tribes.      ‡ *Eurghee* is Mogul, and the particular signification unknown ; but it evidently means some mark of distinction.  
tent ;

دو اسپ وگهاني و ترکشي وشهشيري واره ودرنشي  
وچوال وچوال دوزي و تبرتیشه وده سوزن ویک  
چرم پست بکیرد

وبهادرانیکه هر پنج نفر یک خیمه  
بردارند وهریک نفر جوشي و خودي وشهشيري  
و ترکشي وگهاني واسپان خودرا موافق تزوک همراه  
بگیرند

واون باشیان هریک خیمه وزرهي  
وشهشيري و ترکشي وگهاني و پنج سر اسپ با خود  
داشته باشد

ویوز باشیان هریک خیمه وده سر اسپ  
واسلحه از شهشیر و ترکش وگهان وکرز وکاسکن  
وزره و بکتر متعدد بردارد

ومینک باشیان هریک خیمه وسایباني  
وسلاح از زره وجوشن و خود ونیزه وشهشیر و ترکش  
وتیر هرچه قدر تواند بردارد

امیر اول خیمه واتاقي ویک جفت سایبان  
بردارد واز اسلحه فراخور امارت خود آن مقدار برد که  
تواند بدیگران مدد نماید

وهیچنین

tent; and that each man should be supplied with two Book II.  
horses, and with a bow, and with a quiver of arrows, and  
with a sword, and with a saw, and with an axe, and  
with an awl, and with thread, and with ten needles,  
and with a leathern knapsack;

AND for the select warriors, that every five  
men should have one tent; and that each man should  
take with him a skull-cap, and a breast-plate, and a sword,  
and a bow, and a quiver of arrows, and his horses agree-  
ably to the regulations;

AND that each of the Ounbaushes should  
have with him one tent, and a coat of mail, and a sword,  
and a bow, and a quiver, and five horses;

AND that every Euzbaushes should have  
one tent, and ten horses, and his arms; such as the sword,  
and the bow, and the quiver, and the mace, and the  
club, and the coat of mail, and the breast-plate;

AND that each of the Mingbaushes should  
have a tent, and a Sauehbaun; † and that of arms and of  
armour (the coat of mail, and the breast-plate, and the  
helmet, and lances, and the sword, and quivers, and ar-  
rows) he should carry with him as much as he were able;

AND that the first Armeer should carry with  
him a tent, an Autauk, and two Sauehbauns; and cor-  
responding with his rank, such a quantity of arms and of  
armour, as might enable him to supply the deficiencies  
of others;

† A sort of upper roof for the tent, which being elevated two or three  
feet above it, and projecting on all sides beyond it, defends the owner from  
the heat of the sun.

AND

و همچنین امیر دویم و سیوم و چهارم تا  
 امیر الامرا فراخور مرتبه خود سامان خود را از خیمه  
 و اتاق و سایبان و اسپان سر انجام نمایند  
 امیر اول یکصد و ده اسپ و امیر دوم  
 یکصد بیست اسپ و امیر سیوم یکصد و سی اسپ  
 و چهارم صد و چهل سر اسپ تا امیر الامرا که از سه  
 صد سر اسپ کمتر همراه نگیرد

و پیادگان هر یک ششیری و گمان و تیر  
 دسته بردارند و آنچه توانند کم و زیاده همراه بگیرند  
 اما در وقت جنگ کمتر از آنچه تزوک بسته شده  
 با ایشان نباشد

تزوک پاتش حضور و مجالس بزم و رزم  
 امر نبودم که در مجلس بزم سپاهان  
 و امرا و مینک باشیان و یوز باشیان و اون باشیان بی  
 کلاه و موزه و سر موزه و جامه کریبان دار و بکده  
 و ششیر بدیوانخانه حاضر نیایند

و دوازده

AND thus also, that the second, and the third, and the fourth Ameer, and from him up to the Ameer ul Omrau, each according to his rank and his station, should supply and take with him his necessaries, his tent, and his Autauk, and his Sauehbauns, and his horses; Book II.

THE first Ameer a hundred and ten horses, and the second Ameer a hundred and twenty horses, and the third Ameer a hundred and thirty horses, and the fourth Ameer a hundred and forty horses; and thus up to the Ameer ul Omrau, who was not to take with him a less number than three hundred horses.

AND I ordained that every one of the foot-soldiers should take with him a sword, and a bow, and a bundle of arrows; and that he should carry with him as much as he was able, let it be more or let it be less; but that in times of war he should not have less than was established.

#### REGULATIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUARDS, AND RULES TO BE OBSERVED IN THE PRESENCE, IN PEACE AND IN WAR.

I ordained that in times of peace the soldiers, the Ameers, the Mingbaushes, the Euzbaushes, and the Ounbaushes should not appear in the Imperial Deewaun without their Koollah, † their Mozeh, ‡ and Surmozeh, || their Bukdeh, their Jaumeh § having the collar, and their swords.

† Cap.  
the boot.

‡ Boots.

§ Upper coat.

|| A sort of leathern clog covering the foot of



ودوازده هزار قلچي \* ششپير بردار با يراق  
 وصلاح در بين ويسار ويس وپيش ديسواخانه در  
 گشک \* حاضر باشند بدین ترتيب که هر شب هزار  
 کس از ایشان در پاتش حاضر باشند و بر سر صد قلچي  
 يوز باشي مقرر نمایند ويوتي \* بوي بدهند

وامر نبودم که در معارک رزم هریک  
 از امراء دوازدهگانه ومينک باشيان ويوز باشيان  
 واون باشيان در لشکر ويساقها با دوازده هزار سوار  
 صلاح دار یک شب ویک روز در پاتش خانهاي خود  
 حاضر باشند

واين دوازده هزار سوار را چهار فوج ساخته  
 فوجي در برانغار وفوجي در جرانغار وفوجي در  
 پميشش اورلو وفوجي در عقب تعيين نمایند ونوبت  
 بنوبت بمقدار نيم فرسنگ از اورلو بر آمده بنشينند

وهريک از انواع چهارگانه هراولي از  
 بسراي خود قرار دهد وهراول تراولي را تعيين نموده  
 سر

AND I ordered that twelve thousand Kulchee, † men of the sword, compleatly armed, should be cantoned in the palace ; to the right and to the left, and in the front and in the rear of the Imperial Deewaun : thus, that one thousand of those twelve thousand should be every night upon guard ; and that over each hundred Kulchee an Euzbaushee should be appointed ; and that an Eokee ‡ should be given unto him.

AND I ordained that in times of war and in the field, each of the twelve select Ameers, also the Mingbaushees, and the Euzbaushees and the Ounbaushees should, with twelve thousand horsemen compleatly armed, for the space of one day and one night, when marching, and when halting, be ready upon guard.

AND I commanded that those twelve thousand horse should be divided into four divisions, and that one division should be posted to the right of the camp, and one to the left thereof ; and one in the front, and one in the rear ; and that every watch they should march out to the distance of half a Fursung from the camp, and there lie upon their arms ;

AND that each of those four divisions should appoint an advanced guard ; and that each of the advanced guards should detach scouts in their front ; and

† A Mogul word, supposed to mean Guards.

‡ Mogul — A watch-word.

سر رشته احتیاط و هوشیاری از دست نداده خبرها  
رسانند

وامر نبودم که هر طرف از اطراف لشکر  
وارد و کوتوالی مقرر باشد که حراست و نگاهبانی  
اردو بدیشان متعلق باشد و رسوم از اهالی بازار  
میکرفته باشند و اگر چیزی از اهل اردو بدزدی  
رود جواب گویند

وامر نبودم که چهار فوج چیتونچی  
تعیین نمایند که تا چهار فرسنگی لشکر را بقید  
ضبط در آورند و اگر کسی را مقتول و مجروح به  
بیند از عهده بر آیند و اگر مال کسی بدزدی رود  
جواب گویند

وامر نبودم که سیوم حصه لشکر خدمت  
نکاهد داشت سرحدات مقرر باشند و دو حصه در خدمت  
رکاب خاص حاضر باشند

تنزوک خدمت وزرا

امر نبودم که چهار وزیر در دیوان حضور  
مقرر باشند  
اول

that they should perform their duty with care and circum-  
spection, and communicate intelligence of the approach  
of the enemy. Book II.

AND I ordained that to each of the four  
quarters of the camp a Kootwaul should be appointed ;  
and that the police thereof should appertain unto him :  
that he should collect the customs from the traders in  
the markets ; and that if any thing should be stolen from  
the camp, he should make it good.

AND I ordered also that four divisions of  
Chupkunchee should be appointed, that they should scour,  
and make themselves masters of, the circumjacent coun-  
try to the distance of four Fursung from the camp ; and,  
if any one was murdered or wounded within that dis-  
tance, that they should be accountable ; and that they also  
should be answerable for whatever was stolen.

AND I ordained that one third of the im-  
perial forces should be appointed to guard the frontiers  
of my dominions ; and that the remaining two thirds  
should attend my commands in the presence.

#### REGULATION OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF VIZZEERS.

I ordained that four Vizzcers should be  
appointed to attend in the Imperial Deewaun.

FIRST.

اول وزیر مملکت ورعیت این وزیر مهمات  
و معاملات مملکت و احوال رعیت و حاصل و واصل و فاصل  
ولایات و مداخل و مخارج و آبادانی و معیشت و نسق  
ملک بعرض رسانند

دوم وزیر سپاه که علوفه سپاهیان  
و تنخواه ایشان را بعرض رساند و از احوال ایشان  
آگاه باشد که پیشان نشوند و عرض احوال سپاه را  
معروض دارد

سیموم وزیر سایر و هوای که اموال غایبی  
و فوتی و فراری و زکات و باج اموال آیندگان  
و رونندگان و مواشی و مراعی و انخور و غنچرا که  
انچه ازین مداخل جمع آید ضبط نموده بطریق  
امانت نگاهدارد و آنچه اموال غایب و اموات باشد  
بوارثان ایشان برساند

چهارم

FIRST. THE VIZZEER OF THE COUNTRY AND Book II.  
 THE SUBJECT. It was the business of this Vizzateer to super-  
 intend, and communicate unto me, the concerns and the  
 affairs of the country; and the state and the situation of  
 the husbandman, of the produce, and of the duties re-  
 ceived, and of the deficiencies in the various provinces,  
 of the merchandize brought in and sent out of the land,  
 of the cultivation, and the population, and the police of  
 all my dominions.

SECONDLY. THE VIZZEER OF THE ARMIES.  
 It was his duty to lay before me the accounts of the  
 wages due; and the assignments granted to the troops;  
 and to inform himself of the situations and circumstances  
 of the soldiers (that they might not be distressed or op-  
 pressed) and to communicate unto me the state and the  
 strength of my armies.

THIRDLY. THE VIZZEER OF THE SAUVR AND  
 HUYAUEE. It was his duty to take possession of the effects  
 of absentees, † and of the defunct, and of those who had  
 fled their country; and to receive religious donations, and  
 the duties on the merchandize of comers and of goers,  
 and the taxes on the cattle, and on the pasture lands, and  
 on the reservoirs of water. And having taken possession of  
 the produce, he was to retain it as a deposit in his hands,  
 and to restore the effects of the absentees and the defunct  
 to their lawful heirs.

† i. e. Such people as had disappeared suddenly, and whose absence  
 could not be accounted for.

FOURTHLY.

چهارم وزیر کارخانها سلطنت که از  
مداخل و مخارج و جمیع خرج خزانه و دواب آگاه باشد

وامر نمودم که سه وزیر بر سر حدها  
و مملکت خالصه تعیین نمایند که سر رشته معالجات  
مالی و ولایات نگاهدارند

و این هفت وزیر تابع دیوان بیکی باشند  
که مهیات و معاملات امور مالی را باتفاق دیوان بیکی  
انجام داده بعرض رسانند

وامر نمودم که عرض بیکی مقرر باشد  
که عرض احوال سپاه و رعیت و داد خواهان و خرابی  
و معیوری ملک و آنچه از مهیات فیصل یابد و بانجام  
رسد بعرض رسانند

وامر نمودم که صدر الصدور سیورغالات\*  
سادات و ارباب و ظایف و اوقاف بعرض میرسانیده  
باشد و قاضی اسلام امور شریعه و قاضی احداث امور  
عرفی را معروض دارد

وامر

FOURTHLY. THE VIZZEER OF THE IMPERIAL HOUSEHOLD. It was his duty to superintend the receipts, and the disbursements, and the general expences. Book II.

AND I ordained that three Vizzeers should be appointed over the frontiers and the domains appertaining unto the crown, and to regulate the concerns thereof.

AND I ordained that these seven Vizzeers should be subject to the controul of the Deewaunbeghee : and that under his inspection they should regulate and determine the affairs and the concerns of the revenues, and lay them before me.

I commanded that an Erzbeghee † should be appointed ; and that he should communicate to me the state of the soldiers, and of the subjects, and the complaints of my people, and the increase or decrease of population and cultivation in my dominions, and the conclusion and determination of every momentous concern.

AND I ordained that the Suddur ul Suddoor should lay before me the Sawurghaulaut ‡ of the descendants of the prophet, of the stipendiaries, and pensioners ; and that the ecclesiastical judge should communicate unto me all ecclesiastical concerns ; and that the civil affairs should be laid before me by the civil judge.

† A presenter of petitions.

‡ *Sawurghaul* is a Mogul word, and signifies a grant from the crown of lands or revenues to be enjoyed for ever by the possessor and his heirs.



وامر نبودم که در محفل خاص امور  
ملکي و بند و بست مملکت و تغیر و تبدیل و تعیین سپاه  
وامرا و مشاورت و تدبیرات بعرض رسانند

وامر نبودم که منشی محرم که صاحب  
اسرار تواند بود جاضر باشد که بقلم راستی مخفیات  
و مشورات را می نوشته باشد

وامر نبودم که مجلس نویسان تعیین  
نمایند که نوبت بنوبت در دیوان مجلس حاضر بوده  
و آنچه از مهمات و معاملات فیصل یابد و مشخص شود  
صورت واقعه را نوشته نگاهدارند و آنچه بعرض رسد  
و بمن حکم کنم و آنچه در مجلس مذکور شود از امور  
کلی و جزئی، هرکدام را بقلم در آورده داخل و قایع  
من نمایند

وامر نبودم که بھر کارخانه از کارخانهای  
سلطنت نویسنده تعیین نمایند که اخراجات و مداخل  
و مخارج یومیه را می نوشته باشد

تسویک ایالت امیرای الوسات و قشونات  
و تومانیات

امر

AND I commanded that all concerns ap- Book II.  
 pertaining to the imperial dignity, the regulations of my  
 dominions, and the dismissal, and the changing, and the  
 appointing of armies and of officers, and all consultations  
 and plans of operation should be communicated unto me  
 in my select council.

AND I commanded that a confidential se-  
 cretary (on whose secrecy dependence might be placed)  
 should at all times attend, and minute down with the pen  
 of integrity the secret transactions and deliberations.

AND I ordained that writers of the general  
 council should be appointed, and that they should relieve  
 each other in the hall of the council, and that they should  
 write down and preserve full and exact accounts of every  
 matter and of every business which should be settled and  
 determined therein: and that all representations made  
 unto me, and all orders issued by me, and every matter  
 which was debated in council, should be written and in-  
 serted in the narrative of my transactions.

AND I ordained that to every department  
 of the departments of government an accomptant should  
 be appointed; and that he should keep a journal of the  
 daily expences, and of the receipts and disbursements.

REGULATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENTS  
 OF THE AMEERS OF AULOOSAUT, AND OF KUSH-  
 OONAUT, AND OF TOUMAUNAUT.

امر نهودم که امیر هر الوسی و تومانی  
 در هنگام یساق از هر خرکای\* یک سوار واز دواله  
 چوق\* یک سوار واز سر خانه یک سوار مقرر گردانند که  
 در سفر همراه بگیرند و انخور وعلق خور هر سر زمینی  
 که در آن اقامت داشته باشد در وجه علوفه ایشان  
 مقرر باشد بامرا الوسات برغوی و بیرقی\* بدهند وایشان  
 فراخور الوسات و توماتان خودها سوار در یساقها حاضر  
 آورند

وامر نهودم که از جمله چهل اویباق  
 که محیط ضبط در آمده دوازده اویباق را تنغا  
 نمایند که از جمله نوکران خاصه باشند برلاس  
 ترخان ارغون جالیر تولکچی دولدی مغول سلدوز  
 طوغای قیچاق ارلات تاتار

واز الوس برلاس چهار کس را امیر  
 الامرا ساختم امیر خداداد که بوی مہکت بدخشان  
 ارزانی

I ordained that the Ameer of every Auloos, <sup>Book II.</sup> of every Kufhoon, and of every Toumaun should, when called to fulfil his military service in times of war, select and bring with him to the field from each Khirgauh\* one horseman, from each Duvvauleh Chouk† one horseman, and from each Khaunch‡ one horseman; and that the water and the forage on the lands where they should be stationed should be allowed unto them for their subsistence; and that an Eurghee and a Biruck§ should be granted to the Ameer of every Auloos; and that these Ameers should attend in the field with forces proportioned to the strength and the numbers of their Auloofant and their Toumaunaut.

AND I ordained that to twelve of the forty Ouyemauk which had submitted to my government, Tumghau|| should be given (that they might be classed amongst my select and superior servants:) to the Ouyemauks of Burlaus, Turkhaun, Aurghoon, Jul-laur, Toulkchee, Douldee, Mogheol, Suldoze, Toughauee, Kypchauk, Aurlaut, and Tautaur.

AND from among the tribe of Burlaus I selected four Ameer ul Omraus, Ameer Khodaudaud (unto whom I gave the kingdom of Buddukhsaun) and

\* Khirgauh is Mogul, and signifies a Tatar tent or hut.

† Duvvauleh Chouk is Mogul, and the meaning unknown. Khaunch signifies a house.

‡ Mogul, a little flag.

| i. e. Ray.

Ameer

ارزاني داشتند و امير جاسكو و امير ايسكو تيبور و امير  
سليميان شاه كه بايشان هم سرحد و مملكت ارزاني  
داشتند و صد نفر ديگر را از الوس برلاس مينك باشي  
ساختند و امير جلال الدين برلاس را امير دهم كردانيدم  
و امير ابو سعيد را امير نهم كردم

واز الوس ترخان امير بايزيد را امير  
هفتم ساختند و بيست نفر از ايشان را يوز باشي  
نمودم

واز الوس ارغون تاش خواجسه را امير  
هشتم كردم و بيست نفر را مينك باشي و يوز باشي  
واون باشي مقرر نمودم

واز الوس جلاير توك تيبور و بشير بهرام را  
امير هشتم و نهم ساختند و بيست نفر را يوز باشي و اون  
باشي كردم  
وامارت دادم  
واز الوس دولدي تسان بهادر و سان  
بهادر را امارت دادم

واز الوس مغول تيبور خواجه اغلان را  
بهرتبه امارت رسانيدم

واز الوس سلدوز يلچي بهادر را امارت  
دادم

واز

Ameer Jaukoo, and Ameer Eekoo Timour, and Ameer Book II.  
Soolemaun Shaah; on whom I also conferred the govern-  
ments of frontier kingdoms. And a hundred others of  
the tribe of Burlaus I appointed Mingbaushes. And I  
exalted Ameer Jullaul u deen Burlaus to the dignity of  
tenth Ameer; and Ameer Abou Saeed of the same tribe  
to the rank of ninth Ameer.

AND from amongst the tribe of Turkhaun  
I raised Ameer Bauezzed to the station of seventh Ameer;  
and I appointed twenty persons of the same tribe Euz-  
baushes.

AND of the tribe of Aurghoon I raised  
Taufh Khaujeh to the dignity of eighth Ameer; and I  
gave the appointments of Mingbaushes, and of Euzbau-  
shes, and of Ounbaushes, to twenty people of that  
tribe.

AND of the tribe of Jullaur I exalted  
Touk Timour and Share Behraum to the ranks of eighth  
and of ninth Ameer; and twenty of the same tribe I ap-  
pointed Euzbaushes and Ounbaushes.

AND of the tribe of Toulkchee I confer-  
red the dignity of Ameer on Aljaunetpo Burdi.

AND of the tribe of Douldee, I raised  
Taubaun Bahaudur and Saun Bahaudur to the dignity of  
Amcers.

AND of the tribe of Moghool I exalted  
Khaujeh Aghlaun to the rank of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Saldooze I appointed  
Elchee Bahaudur to the station of Ameer.

AND

دادم  
 واز الوس طوغاي علي درویشرا امارت  
 ساختم  
 واز الوس قیچاق امیر سار بوغارا امیر  
 واز الوس ازلات امیر مویدرا که خواهر  
 من در حباله زوجیت وی بود امیر الامرا ساختم  
 و سلاچی بهادر را امیر گردانیدم  
 واز الوس تاتار گونک خان را امارت  
 دادم و بیست و هشت اویلاق دیگر که به تبغا نرسیدند  
 ایشانرا امیر الوس ساختم که در وقت یساق در چار  
 و پلچار حاضر شوند و موافق تنوک سواران خود را  
 حاضر سازند

تنوک سلوک نوکر به صاحب و معاش  
 صاحب بنوکر  
 که نوکر راست بداند که آنچه وی  
 از نوکر خود چشم داشت دارد صاحب وی هم از وی  
 همان چشم داشت دارد پس خود را در خدمت صاحب  
 معافی ندارد و بداند که اگر صاحبش اول بوی بر  
 سر عنایت بود و آخر بی عنایت شد تقصیر و نقصان  
 بر خود نهد نه بر صاحب خود  
 و نوکر راست است که با صاحب اخلاص  
 و زرد و با خلاص کار کند

وهر

AND of the tribe of Toughauee I appointed Book II.  
Aali Durvaish to the station of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Kipchauk I raised  
Ameer Saur Booghau to the dignity of Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Aurlaut I appointed  
Ameer Muviud (unto whom one of my sisters had been  
given in marriage) Ameer ul Omrau : and Sullauichee Ba-  
haudur of the same tribe I made an Ameer.

AND of the tribe of Tautaur I raised Kow-  
vung, Khaun to the rank of Ameer ; and the remaining  
twenty eight Ouyemauk, unto whom the Tumghau had  
not been given, I appointed commanders over their own  
tribes : that in times of war and of service they might  
attend in the field, and bring with them their horsemen,  
agreeably to the regulation.

#### RULES CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF SERVANTS TOWARDS THEIR PRINCE, AND OF THE PRINCE TOWARDS HIS SERVANTS.

BE it known to every good servant, that  
that which he expecteth from his own dependant, his  
prince also expecteth from him. Let him not therefore  
be backward in his services ; but let him know, that if  
his master be at first well-inclined unto him, and after-  
wards be ill-inclined unto him, he must lay the fault and  
the consequence to himself and not to his master.

HE is a good servant who attacheth him-  
self unto his master, and doeth his duty through that  
attachment.



وهر نوکري که بي اخلاص وکینه  
دار باشد از اثر بي اخلاص وکینه وي البته نکبت  
بوي روي آورد وليکن دولت و نعمت نوکر باخلاص  
موز بروز در تزايد باشد

راسخ الاعتقاد نوکري باشد که از  
اعراض و اعتراض صاحب نرنجد وکینه نورز و تقصيري  
که از صاحبش بوقوع آيد آنرا بخود کيرد آن  
نوکري لايق تربيت باشد

ونوکري که نظرش بر لقمه و خرقه  
باشد البته در وقت کار سستي کند

ونوکري که حق خدمت فراموش کند  
و در وقت کار روي گردان شود ديگر رويش را نبايد  
ديد

ونوکري که در وقت کار بهانه جويد  
و هنگام يساقى رخصت طلبد و نظر بر پشت پا داشته  
باشد و کار امروز بفرده حواله نبايد چنانچه بولا  
وتيهور اعلان بين کردند و مرا بر سر کار گذاشتند  
نام اين قسم نوکران نسيانيد بر و ايشان را به  
پروردگار بايد سپرد

وسلاطين

ON the servant who is incapable of attachment, and who harboureth resentment, contempt and ignominy shall most certainly fall in consequence of his evil qualities : but the prosperity and the riches of the faithful and affectionate servant shall be daily increasing. Book II.

HE is a good and faithful servant who taketh not offence at the slights or the reprimands of his prince, who entertaineth not revenge in consequence thereof ; but taketh the faults of his master upon himself : such a servant is worthy of the affection and the kindness of his prince.

THE servant whose eye is fixed on the morsels and the fragments † which fall from the table of his lord, will undoubtedly be negligent in the moment of trial.

THE servant who forgetteth his duty in the hour of action, and turneth his face from the foe of his prince ; let the face of that servant be seen no more.

THE servant who in the hour of trial searcheth after excuses ; and who on the day of enterprise demandeth his dismissal, and who keepeth his eye on the means of retreat, and who transfereth till to-morrow the business of to-day, (thus Boulau and Timour Agh-lan acted towards me, and deserted me in the hour of danger) let the names of such servants be held in contempt ; and let them be delivered over to the Almighty.

† i. e. A self-interested and avaricious servant.

وسلاطین راست که هر نوکری را که  
عزت دهند زود بیعت نکردانند و برداشته خود را نه  
اندازند و هرکس را دانسته و شناخته باشد فراموش  
نکنند

اگر احیانا بیعت کنند در عزتش دو  
برابر افزوده تلافي نمایند و آن نوکرا باخلاص  
و اعتقاد وی حواله سازند که اگر کینه و نفاق  
ورزد بالخاصیه نکبت بوی روی خواهد آورد و هر  
نوکری که در دل صاحب به نیکی جا کند  
روز به کرد

و هر نوکری که باختیار و غیر اختیار  
جدا شود و چون مراجعت نماید ویرا متحرم گردانند  
که از جدایء خود پشیمان شده و معاودت نهوده

و امر نمود که هر نوکری که از  
جانب غنیم شبشیر از نیام بر آورده و نهک حلال باشد  
اگر این چنین مردی در جنگ بدست افتد یا از  
طرف غنیم نا امید شده بیاید و ملازمت اختیار کند  
ویرا عزیز نمایند و بر مراتبش بیفزایند و ویرا وفادار  
دانند

چنانچه

IT behoveth the prince not speedily to degrade the servant whom he hath exalted, not to pull down him whom his own hand hath raised up. Let him not neglect those whom he knoweth or remembereth.

AND if it should chance that without cause he put a good servant to shame, let him make amends by conferring two-fold honour upon him : and let him refer that servant to his own affection and fidelity : for if he harboureth hatred and revenge, according to his evil qualities ignominy shall be his reward. But the servant who by good conduct acquireth a place in the heart of his prince, shall prosper in consequence thereof.

IF a servant spontaneously, or otherwise, separate himself from his master, and if he afterwards turn back unto him, let that servant be received with honour : since, ashamed of his desertion, he returneth again to his prince.

EVERY servant who was faithful to his prince, and who drew his sword on the side of my enemy ; if such a man became my prisoner in battle, or if, hopeless of reward from the foe, he came in unto me and offered his services, I ordained that he should be received with honour and esteem ; and that his fidelity should be acknowledged and relied on ; and that dignities superior to those, which he formerly possessed, should be conferred upon him.

THUS.

چنانچه منکلی بوغا و حیدر اندو خودی  
 و امیر ابو سعید با شش هزار سوار بر کنار آب بلخ  
 پهن یو پرو شده جنگ کردند بعد از آن از تغلق تیمور  
 خان نا امید گشته بهین پناه آوردند ایشانرا عزت  
 داده احترام کردم و ولایت جصار شادمان و اندجان  
 و ترکستان بدیشان دادم

وامر نمودم که هر نوکری که در  
 نزد غنیم معتبر باشد و در وقت جنگ و کارزار سلسله  
 دوستی بدشمن صاحب خود بجنباند و حق نهک  
 و صاحبی و نوکری و نعمت را فراموش کند و دشمن  
 صاحب خود را خواهد بکشد بر صاحب خود غالب  
 گرداند این قسم شخصی را در خدمت راه ندهند روزگار  
 سزایش را در کنارش خواهد نهاد

و هر نوکری که در وقت کار از صاحب  
 خود جدا شده به لازمیت آید اعتماد را شایسته نباشد  
 اما اگر بعد از خدمت بسیار وفاداری از وی ظاهر  
 شود نکاهدارند و اگر در غیر وقت کار و پرورش آمده  
 به لازمیت اختیار نباید و برا کرامی دارند  
 و اگر

THUS Munguli Booghau, and Hydur Andookhodee, and Ameer Abob Saeed, on the part of Tughulluk Timour Khaun, opposed and attacked me with six thousand horsemen, on the banks of the water of Bulukh. Afterwards, taking offence at the conduct of Tughulluk Timour, they sought protection from me; and I received them with honour and esteem: and I conferred upon them the provinces of Andijaun, and Hyssaur Shaudumaun, and Toorkistaun.

AND I also ordained that the servant of the foe who was in the confidence of his master, and, who in times of war and of service, vibrated the chain of friendship with the enemy of his prince; and who forgot the sacred ties of lord and of servant, and the fidelity due for the salt and the bread which he had eaten; and who strove to make the enemy of his master the conqueror of his master; I ordained that such a wretch should never be admitted into my service. Time shall hereafter inflict upon him his reward.

THE servant who quitteth his master in times of trial, and offereth his services to another, is not worthy to be admitted: but when by many and long services his fidelity shall be proved, he may then be received into favour. If in times of peace and tranquillity he offereth his services, let him be received with kindness.

واگر وزیري ونوگري از روي راي  
 وتدبير با دشمن رابطه آشنائي درست سازد و درين  
 لباس خواهد که کار صاحب خود را ساخته کردند ويرا  
 عاقلترين دوستان و چاکران بايد دانست وليکن نوگري  
 که بدشمن بسازد و با صاحب خود نفاق ورزد اين  
 چنين نوگري را به دشمن ارزاني دارند

واگر نوگري شمشير زند و غنيم را  
 شکست دهد سخن ارباب غرض را در حق وي نشنوند  
 و کار ويرا پوشيده ندارند و يك کار ويرا به ده بار  
 نبايند و بر مرتبه اش بيفزايند تا ديگر نوکران را رغبت  
 جان فشاني بهم رسد

وهر فوجي وهر اميري که روي از راه  
 مرافقت و موافقت برگرداند و به غنيم پيوند ايشان را  
 در يورت اورن ندهند چنانچه سرداران لشکر کش از  
 من رو گردان شده بامير حاجي برلاس پيوستند  
 و من بعد بر ايشان اعتياد نکردم

وهر نوگري را که حاکم ملگي گرداند  
 ووي از روي بيوفاي به غنيم سازش نهوده ملک را  
 بدشمن بدهد ويرا از قيد حيات بر آورند و نوگر  
 ملکدار بهراتب ارجهند بلند مرتبه گردانند

وهر

IF a Vizzateer, or other servant, through policy and design, form an intimacy with his masters foe; and endeavour, under the garb of that friendship, to promote the interest of his prince, let him be esteemed amongst the wisest and the best of servants and of friends. But if a servant oppose his masters's interest, and intrigue with the enemy, present such a servant as a gift to the foe. Book II.

IF a servant fight valiantly and defeat his foe, let not the insinuations of the envious be heard to his prejudice; permit not his glory to be concealed, but let it be exhibited in ten-fold splendor; and let him be exalted to a superior station, that other servants may be inspired with a thirst for glory.

IF a body of troops, or an Ameer, desert their prince, and unite with the enemy, let them not again be admitted into his service. Thus the leaders of the forces of Kush turned from me their faces, and united themselves with Ameer Haujee Burlaus; and after that I confided not in them.

WHATEVER servant, unto whom the government of a kingdom shall be trusted, who treacherously leagueth with the enemy, and delivereth that kingdom into the hands of the foe; let him be put to death. But let the servant, who defendeth and preserveth a kingdom, be raised to a distinguished and exalted rank.

S f

LET



وهر اميري كه در وقت تنك قدم  
 اخلاص در ميدان مصافي استوار دارد و طريق مرافقت  
 بجاي آورد ويرا بهنرله برادر شيارند چنانچه وقتي كه  
 امرا و لشكر خط كش از من رو كردان شدند بغير  
 از امير جاكوي برلاس هيچكس در نزد من نماند  
 و همراهي نكرد من امير جاكورا برادر عزيز دانسته  
 شريك دولت خود گردانيدم و امير الامرا ساخته  
 مملكت بلخ و حصار بوي ارزاني داشتم

تروك سلوك و معاش با دوست و دشمن  
 روزي كه مملكت توران را مسخر ساختم  
 و در تختگاه سمرقند بر سرير سلطنت جلوس نمودم  
 بدوست و دشمن يكسان سلوك كردم امراي بدخشان  
 و بعضي امراي قشونات از ترك و تاجيك كه بهن  
 بدبها كرده و حيلهها برانكبيخته و بر من شهشيرها  
 كشيده بودند و از كردار نا پسنديده خود متوهم  
 مي بودند چون بين التجا آوردند چندان احسان  
 نمودم كه شرمنده عنایت و احسان من شدند

وهر كسرا رنجانيده بودم با احسان و انعام  
 تلافي

LET the Ameer, who in the hour of peril Book II.  
and distress adhereth to his prince, and standeth firm in  
the field of slaughter, be considered as a brother. THUS  
at the time when the forces of Kush deserted my stand-  
ard, no one remained with me, or consented to share my  
fortunes, except Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus; and I afterwards  
esteemed Ameer Jaukoo as a beloved brother; and I ad-  
mitted him to a participation in my fortunes; and I made  
him an Ameer ul Omrau; and I conferred upon him the  
kingdoms of Bullukh and of Hissaur.

REGULATIONS FOR MY CONDUCT AND  
BEHAVIOUR BOTH TO FRIENDS AND TO ENEMIES.

ON the day on which I conquered the  
kingdom of Tooraun, and mounted the throne of empire  
in the capital city of Summurkund, I conducted myself  
in the same manner towards my enemies and my friends.  
The Ameers of Buddukhshaun, and other Ameers of Ku-  
shoonaut, both Toork and Taucheek, who had done me  
injuries; and who had practised deceits upon me; and  
who had drawn their swords in opposition unto me; and  
who were alarmed by the remembrance of their evil con-  
duct; when they submitted to my authority, I received  
them with such kindness and courtesy, that they blushed  
at my generosity and goodness.

AND to every one, whom I had injured or  
distressed, I made compensation; and I balanced the dis-

تلافی رنجش وی کردم و بهراتب لایق ایشانرا  
امتیاز بخشیدم

لیکن بر امرای سلدوز و جتسه نفرین  
کردم که کابل شاه چنکیزی را که بامارت و خانی برداشته  
بودند و بوی عهد و دوستی و بیبان اخلاص پرستند  
چون خبر جلوس من بر تخت سلطنت بهسماع ایشان  
رسید نقص عهد کرده و برا بجهت خوش آمد من  
بقتل رسانیدند

و کسانی را که در مقام شکست من  
در آمده بر من حسد بردند آن قدر بایشان مروت  
واحسان کردم که شرمنده احسان من شده غرق  
عرق خجالت گشتند

و دوستان چون بهن التجا آوردند چون  
همیشه برضای من کار کرده بودند ایشانرا شریک  
دولت دانسته در عطای مال و اسباب مضایقه نکردم

و بتجربه من رسیده که دوست صادق  
آنست که از دوست فرجید و دشمن دشمن دوست  
باشد و اگر اقتد در دادن جان مضایقه نکند چنانچه  
بعضی امرای من تا بجان همراهی من کردند و من  
هم در هیچ چیز بایشان مضایقه نکردم  
و بتجربه

treffes which he had suffered, by kindness and by gratuities ; and by proper marks of my favour I conferred honour upon him. Book II.

BUT on the Ameers of the tribes of Suldoze and of Jitteh I uttered execrations : for, having exalted Kaubul Shaah of the line of Chungaze to the dignity of Khaun, and sworn fidelity and friendship unto him, when they heard of my exaltation to the throne, they broke their faith and their engagements, and, to flatter and to soothe me, put him to death.

AND to those who had envied my fortune, and who had endeavoured to subvert my power, I conducted myself with such kindness and generosity, that they were confounded at my goodness, and sunk under the sense of their own unworthiness.

AND my friends who presented themselves before me, those who had ever acted in submission to my will, I considered as the partners of my fortune : and I regarded not the riches and the wealth which I conferred upon them.

FOR by experience it is known unto me, that he is a firm associate, who taketh not offence at the conduct of his friend ; and who is the enemy of the enemy of his friend ; and who hesitateth not to hazard his life, when occasion shall require. THUS certain of my Ameers followed my fortunes even to death ; nor did I with-hold from them aught which I had.

AND

و بتجربه من رسید که دشمن عاقل بهتر  
از دوست جاهل باشد چنانچه امیر حسین نبیره امیر  
قرغن از دوستان جاهل بود و آنچه در دوستی بین  
کرد هیچ دشمن در دشمنی نکند

امیر خداداد بین گفت که دشمن را  
چون لعل و جواهر نگاهدار و چون بسنگ لاهی  
ترسی چنانش بر سنگ زن که اثری از وی نماند  
و نیز گفت که چون دشمن پناه آورد  
وزانو زند بر وی رحم کن و مروت نها چنانچه من  
به توتیش خان کردم چون بین پناه آورد مروت  
کردم  
اگر دشمن مروت و احسان دیده دیگر  
بارہ بر سر دشمنی رود ویرا پیرو کار بسیار  
و دوست آنست که از دوست نرنجد  
و اگر برنجد عذر پذیر باشد

تنوک اجلاس واورن

امر نبودم که فرزندان و نبایر و خویشان  
موافق

AND by experience it was known unto me, Book II.  
 that a wise enemy is preferable to a foolish friend. THUS  
 Ameer Hoosseïn, the grandson of Ameer Kurgun, was  
 one of those foolish friends : and the mischiefs which in  
 his friendship he did unto me, were such as no enemy  
 would do in the excess of his enmity.

AMEER Khodaudaud once said unto me,  
 “ Watch thou thy enemy, as thou wouldst guard a ruby  
 “ of lustre, or a jewel of high price : but when thou  
 “ meetest with a stone of Laukh, crush him thereon un-  
 “ til not one particle of him remain.”

HE also said, “ When an enemy fleeth  
 “ unto thee for protection, and kneeleth before thee,  
 “ have compassion upon him, and receive him with kind-  
 “ nefs.” THUS I acted towards Touktummish Khaun.  
 When he fled to me for shelter, I treated him with ten-  
 derness and humanity.

If an enemy, after tasting of thy generosity  
 and bounty, return again to enmity, deliver him over to  
 the justice of the Almighty.

HE is a true friend who taketh not offence  
 at the conduct of his friend ; or if he doth, is willing to  
 receive his acknowledgements.

#### REGULATIONS OF PRECEDENCY AND OF ADMISSION TO THE IMPERIAL PRESENCE.

I ordained that my sons, and my grand-  
 sons, and my relations, should, according to their dif-  
 ferent

موافق مراتب خود هاله وار صف زده بر دور سریر  
سلطنت بنشینند

وسادات وقضات وعلما وفضلا ومشائخ  
واکابر واشراف بر طرف دست راست جلوس  
نمایند

وامیر الامرا وویکتر بیکیان وامرا ونونیان  
وسرداران وامیران الوس وتومانان وقشونات ومینک  
باشیان وپوز باشیان واون باشیان مطابق مراتب خودها  
طرف دست چپ جلوس نمایند

وبرای دیوان بیکی وزیرا در مقابل  
تخت جای نشستن مقرر کردم وکلانتران وکدخدایان  
مهاک در عقب وزرا صف زده نشسته باشند

وبهادرانیکه که خطاب بهادری یافته  
باشند وجوانان شمشیر زن در عقب سریر سلطنت  
طرف دست راست بنشینند وقراول بیکیان را طرف  
دست چپ عقب تخت حکم نشستن کردم

وامیر هراول در پیش روی اورن بگیرد  
ومجرم یساول بر در خرگاه پیش پایه تخت ایستاده  
باشد

ferent ranks encircle and sit round the throne in regular Book II.  
order.

AND that the descendants of the prophet, and the judges, and the theologians, and the learned men, and the prelates, and the grandees, and the nobles should sit on the right hand of the throne.

AND that the Ameer ul Omrau, and the Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, and the Nouniaun, and the chiefs, and the leaders of tribes, and of Toumaunaut and of Kushoonaut, and the Mingbaushée, and the Euzbaushée, and the Ounbaushée-Ameers should take their places suitably to their ranks and their stations, on the left hand of the throne.

AND I appointed a place opposite to the throne for the Deewaunbeghi and for the Vizzeers. And I ordered that the leading men and the magistrates of the empire, should form a line and seat themselves behind the Vizzeers;

AND that the select soldiers, who had obtained the title of Bahaudur, and the mighty men of prowess should sit on the right hand in the rear of the throne. And the leaders of the light troops I ordered to be seated in the rear of the throne on the left hand.

AND I commanded that that the Ameer of the Hurrauwl should take his station in the front; and that the chief of the Yussauwl† should stand at the door of the imperial pavilion, opposite the foot of the

† The chief of the messengers. *Mogul.*



باشد و داد خواه در چپ و راست بایستند  
 و سایر سپاه و خدم و حشم به راتب خود  
 منی زده ایستاده شوند و جای خود را نگاهدارند  
 و امر نمود که چهار میر تنگ دست  
 راست و دست چپ و پیش و پس مجلس را تنگ  
 دهند

و حکم کردم که چون مجلس بر  
 تنگ در آید هزار طبق آتش و هزار نان در مجلس  
 عام شیلان بکشند و هزار طبق در محفل خاصش حاضر  
 آورند از این جمله پانصد طبق به الوس امرا و سرداران  
 تمام بنام بفرستند

### تنگ ملک گیری

در هر ملکی که ظلم و جور و فتنه  
 بسیار شود سلاطین را است که به نیت عدالت  
 عزیت دفع و رفع فتنه و ظلم بسته بر آن ملک ترک تاز  
 آورند که تنگری تعالی بهین نیت آن ملک را از ظالم  
 بگیرد و به عادل بسیار چنانچه من ولایت ماورالنهر  
 از

throne ; and the receivers of petitions on the right and Book II.  
on the left ;

AND that the soldiers in general, and the imperial domestics, should stand in lines according to their degrees, and be attentive to keep in their proper stations.

AND I commanded, that four Meer Toozyuk † should establish and preserve order in the imperial assembly ; before, and behind, and on the right, and on the left of the throne.

AND I commanded, when the assembly was formed and regulated, that among the inferior people a thousand dishes of meat, and a thousand loaves, should be distributed ; and that a thousand dishes of meat and a thousand loaves should be brought into the imperial assembly ; and that five hundred of that thousand should be sent to the Ameers of tribes, and to the chiefs ; to each by his name, and by his title.

#### REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE REDUCTION OF KINGDOMS.

IF in any kingdom tyranny, and oppression, and iniquity shall be predominant, it is the duty of a prince, from a regard to justice and the law, to resolve on the expulsion and extirpation of the authors of that oppression and iniquity ; and to assault that kingdom. For Almighty God from the same motives will wrest that

† Regulators, masters of the ceremonies.

از دست ظالمان اوزبکیه بنیت عدالت انتزاع  
نمودم

و در هر ملکی که شریعت ضعیفی باشد  
و بزرگ کردهای خدا را عزیز ندارند و بندها خاص خدای  
تعالی را آزاده گردانند سلطان ملک کبر را است  
که نیت رواج دین و شریعت محمدی صلی الله  
علیه وسلم کرده بدان ملک در آید که رسول  
خدا ویرا تایید خواهد نمود چنانچه من دار الملک  
هندوستان را از سلطان محمود نبیره فرزند شاه و ملو خان  
و سارنگ انتزاع نمودم و دین و شریعت را رواج دادم  
بتخانهای آن دیار را خراب ساختم

و هر مملکتی که متوطنان و ساکنان  
آن مملکت از حاکم و والی خود در آزار باشند  
و دلهای اهل آن دیار از والی خود منصرف کردن  
ملک ستان را است که آن ملک را بحیطه تصرف  
در آورد و بهجرد توجه سلطان نیکو سیر آن ملک  
مسخر گردد

چنانچه من مهالک خراسان را از  
سلاطین کثرت انتزاع نمودم و بهجرد توجه من بعزیت  
تسخیر

kingdom from the hand of the tyrant, and deliver it over to the upright assailant. **THUS**, from a regard to justice and the law, I delivered the country of Mauwur u Nuhur from the hands of the Ouzbuk tyrants. Book II.

**AND** in whatever country the holy laws are disregarded; where they neglect those to whom the Almighty hath given dignity; where they injure and oppress his chosen servants; it is the duty of a conqueror, with a firm determination to support the faith and the laws of Mahummud (on whom be the blessing of God) to invade that country: for the prophet of the Lord shall assist him in all his undertakings. **THUS** I wrested from Sooltaun Muhmood (the grandson of Feeroze Shaah) from Mulloo Khaun, and from Saurung, the capital of the empire of Hindostaun; and I re-established the true faith; and I overturned the habitations of the idols in that country.

**IT** is the duty of a victorious king to bring under his authority every empire or kingdom, where the inhabitants thereof are oppressed by their prince and ruler, and where the hearts of the people are turned aside from their governor. No sooner shall the upright prince approach, than that kingdom shall fall into his hands.

**THUS** I delivered the kingdom of Khorau-faun from the princes of the house of Kurroot. As soon as I advanced, with the resolution to reduce the capital of

دار الملک خراسان سلطان غیاث الدین آمده مہلکت  
خراسان را با خزاین ورفاین پیشکش کرد

و در هر ملکی کہ الحاد و زندتہ بسیار  
شود و اہل آن دیار از سپاہ و رعیت بطوائفی متنوعہ  
متفرق شوند زوال آن مہلکت نزدیک رسیدہ باشد  
جہان ستان را است کہ بر آن مہلکت ترکتاز آورد  
چنانچہ من مہالک عراق عجم و فارس را از وجود  
ملاعین ملاحدہ پاک ساختم و ملوک طوائفی را بر  
انداختم و بندہای خدا را از ظلم ایشان کہ ہر یک در  
ناحیہ علم سلطنت بر افراختہ بودند نجات دادم

و در هر ملکی کہ عقاید اہالی آن ملک  
از عقاید خاندان حضرت سید المرسلین صلوات اللہ  
علیہ تغیر یابد سلاطین را واجب است کہ آن  
ولایت را مسخر گردانند و اہالی آن ملک را از اعتقاد  
بد ایشان باز آورند چنانچہ من بہلکت شام در آمدہ  
جہاعت کہ بد اعتقاد بودند ایشانرا بسزا رسانیدم

و چون شروع در ملک گیری کردم چہار  
امر را پیش نهاد خاطر خود ساختم  
اول در امور ملک گیری تدبیر  
و گنگاش درست بکار بردم  
دوم

of Khorausaun, Sooltaun Ghceaus u deen came forth unto me, and he delivered the treasures, and the wealth, and the kingdom into my hands. Book II.

AND in every kingdom, where heresy and schism shall abound, and where the inhabitants of that country, both soldiers and subjects, shall be divided into different parties and factions, the destruction of that kingdom is at hand; and it is the duty of a victorious monarch to invade that country. THUS I purified the kingdoms of Fauris and Erauk a Ajjum from the existence of the accursed heretics; and I overturned the leaders of the factions, who had each of them elevated the standard of power, throughout those territories, and I delivered the servants of God from their tyranny and oppressions.

AND in every kingdom, where the articles of the faith of the inhabitants thereof shall be altered from those of the descendants of the prince of the prophets, (on whom be the blessing of Almighty God) it is the duty of an Emperor to reduce that Kingdom, and to bring back the inhabitants thereof from their evil tenets. THUS I entered the kingdom of Shaum, and punished all those who held pernicious doctrines.

WHEN I first entered upon the reduction of kingdoms, I firmly adhered to four certain maxims.

FIRST, in those things which appertain to the acquisition of dominions, I acted from deep deliberation, and from mature counsel.

SECONDLY,

دوم اندیشه وحزم و احتیاط بسیار نمودم  
تا آنکه در کارها غلط نکردم و بتایید الهی هر  
تدبیری که کردم راست و درست افتاد و مزاج و طبایع  
اهل هر ملکی را بخاطر آوردم و موافق طبیعت ایشان  
سلوک کرده حاکم تعیین نمودم

سیوم سیصد و سیزده مردم مردانه اصیل  
و شجاع و فرزانه بخود متفق ساختم و ایشان در اتفاق  
بهرتبه بودند که گویا همگی ایشان یک تن بودند  
و عزیمت و رای و گفتار و کردار ایشان همی یک بود  
چون میگفتند که این کار میکنم بر نمی کشتند  
و تا آن کار را باتهام نمی رسانیدند دست از آن باز  
نپیدا شدند

چهارم کار امروز را بفردا نینداختم و در  
هنگام نرمی نرمی بکار بردم و در وقت درشتی درشتی  
کردم و در زمان ثانی شتاب نکردم و در کار شتاب درنگ  
ننمودم و کاری که بتدبیر سر انجام یافتی بشیشیر  
نپیکشادم

وروزها

SECONDLY, I used reflection, and caution, Book II. and circumspection, that I might not err in execution. And such was the favour of the Almighty, that every determination which I formed, proved in the end judicious and successful. I informed myself of the dispositions and genius of the natives of every country; and I accommodated myself to their prejudices in the appointment of their governors.

THIRDLY, I united unto myself three hundred and thirteen resolute men, of nobility, of bravery, and of wisdom; and so firmly were they united, that the whole, it might be said, were as one person; and their resolutions, and their actions, and their declarations were the same. When they said, "We will do thus," they did it: for until they had concluded the enterprise on which they had determined, they withdrew not their hands therefrom.

FOURTHLY, I postponed not till to-morrow the business of to-day. When lenity was necessary, I acted with lenity; and in the hour of severity I was severe. At the time when delay was policy, I acted not with precipitation; and when expedition was necessary, I was not guilty of delay: and the business which could be concluded by address and negotiation, I committed not to the sword.



وروزها با ارباب تجربه وهوشندان  
 شطرنج ملک کیري مې باختم وشبها که در خوابگاه  
 تکیه میزدیم در تهشیت امور مہلکت تفکر میکردم  
 وصورت انجام آنرا بخود تصویر مینمودم

وطریق ملک کیري را خود بخود اندیش  
 میکردم که از کدام راه در آیم وکدام طرف بدر  
 آیم ودر معاملات سپاه فکر میکردم که کدام یکی را  
 تربیت نمایم وچه کسرا کار فرمایم تا غلط نکنم وپیش  
 بینی در هر کار مینمودم وهر کس از اعیان سپاه  
 که بمن دوستی کردند بایشان احسان نمودم وهر  
 کس بمن دشمنی کرد بوي مدارا کردم

وکسانی که بآنها نیکی کردم وآنها  
 بمن بدی کردند ایشانرا حرام زاله دانستم که قول  
 رسول رب العالمین است که ولد الزنا از دنیا بیرون  
 نرود تا بمحسن خود بدی نکنند

پیر من بمن نوشت که ترا است  
 که حکم خدا ورسول خدا عمل نهایی وآل  
 وذریات

THE day I past in examining the difficulties of conquest with wise and experienced men ; and in the night when I laid myself down in the chamber of repose, I deliberated on the execution of my resolutions, and I formed the plan on which they were to be conducted. Book II.

AND I myself reflected on the measures I should pursue in the reduction of kingdoms ; how I should advance, and which way I should retreat. And I also considered those things which concerned my soldiers, whom I should encourage and reward, and whom I should order upon service ; that I might not err in my resolves. And I exerted foresight and circumspection in every transaction. And the leaders of my soldiers who attached themselves unto me, I treated with kindness and distinction ; and I conducted myself with seeming attention towards those who were my enemies.

AND I considered as base-born those on whom I had conferred favours, and who, for the good which they had received, returned evil. For it is the proverb of the prophet of the Creator of men and angels, ' That the base-born will not depart from the world, ' until he hath deceived and injured his patron, and be- ' nefactor.'

MY venerable PÆR wrote unto me, saying,  
 " It is thy duty to act in obedience to the commands of  
 " thy God and the prophet of thy God, and to protect

وزريات آنحضرت را نصرت دهی

وسلاطین را که نعمتهای خدا میخورند  
و بخدا و رسول وی باغی شده اند از ملک خدا  
اخراج نهایی و در ملک خدا عدالت بکار پری  
که گفته اند ملک بکفر باقی ماند و بظلم باقی  
نماند

و ترا است که افعال قبیحه و اعمال  
شنیعه از ملک خدا براندازی که افعال بد در عالم  
آن اثر میکند که غذایی بد در بدن و آثار ظلم را  
محو نهایی

و طول بقای ظالم را در عالم حبل بر  
نیکی ظالم نکنی و سبب طول بقای ظالمان و فاسقان  
آنست که ظلم و فسقی که در نهاد ایشان نهاده  
اند از قوت بفعل آورند آنگاه بسخط و غضب الهی  
گرفتار گردند

گاه باشد که قدرت الهی ظلمه  
و فسقه و فجره را به بند و زندان و تاراج و محط  
و کرسنکی و وباء عام و موت فجاء بیک مرتبه گرفتار  
گرداند

و گاه

“ and assist the descendants and posterity of that holy Book II.  
“ messenger. {

“ AND those princes who feed on the boun-  
“ ties of the Creator, and yet rebel against their God and  
“ his prophet, thou shalt drive out from the kingdoms of  
“ the Lord. And thou shalt act with justice in the land  
“ of thy Creator : for it is said, That dominion may be  
“ continued to the infidel ; but that to the tyrant it shall  
“ not be continued.

“ AND it is thy duty to root out from the  
“ country of God all pollutions and abominations ; for  
“ evil practices have that effect on the world, which per-  
“ nicious aliment hath on the human body. Obliterate  
“ every vestige of cruelty and oppression.

“ AND ascribe not the continued prospe-  
“ rity of the tyrant in this world to the merits of the  
“ tyrant : for the cause of the long duration of the power  
“ of the wicked and the oppressors is this, that they may  
“ bring forth into action all the wickedness and all the  
“ crimes which they have treasured up in their hearts,  
“ and then be overtaken by the wrath and indignation of  
“ Almighty God.

“ IT shall sometimes come to pass, that  
“ the omnipotence of the Creator shall at once chastize  
“ the cruel, and the wicked, and the impious, with a  
“ variety of punishments ; by chains, and by prisons ;  
“ and by desolation, and by famine, and by hunger ; by  
“ an universal pestilence, and by sudden death ; and by  
“ unforeseen destruction.

AND

وگاه باشد که صلحا و اتقیا و نیکو  
 کاران و بیکناهان بشامت افعال و اعمال بدان در  
 بلا افتند و گرفتار شوند چه آتش که در نیستان  
 افتد تر و خشک آنرا بسوزد

واز ترقیات و استدراجات کفار و فجار  
 و طلبه و فساق تعجب نکنی و بغلط نروی و با خود  
 نکوی، که ظالمان و فاسقان و فاجران هر چند ظلم  
 و فسق و فجور بیشتر میکنند نعمت ایشان بیشتر  
 میشود

پس سبب بسیاری نعمت ایشان را باید  
 دانست چه سببش اینست که شاید نظر بر عنایت  
 منعم حقیقی کرده از ظلم و فسق باز آیند و شکر  
 نعمت بجای آورند

چون از آدای شکر الهی غافل شوند  
 و بدرگاه سجائی باز کشت ننمایند و نعمت خدا  
 و رسول خدا فراموش کنند در آخر بغضب و سخط  
 ایزدی گرفتار گردند

چون نامه پیر من بمن رسید ملک  
 خدا را از چنک ظالمان و کافران و ملاحدان و منافقان  
 و فاسقان

“ AND it shall sometimes come to pass, Book II.  
 “ that the just, and the religious, and the virtuous, and  
 “ the innocent shall be overtaken and involved in the ca-  
 “ lamities of the evil doers. For the fire, which falleth  
 “ in the wilderness of reeds, consumeth both the green  
 “ and the dry.

“ AND be not surprized at the prosperity  
 “ and the success of the impious, and the wicked, and  
 “ the infidel, and the tyrant. And err not in thy conclu-  
 “ sions, and say not unto thyself, The good things of  
 “ the wicked, and of the impious men, and of the tyrant  
 “ are increased unto them; although in wickedness, and  
 “ in tyranny, and in impiety they daily increase.

“ THOU oughtest first to understand the  
 “ cause of their increasing prosperity. For the cause is,  
 “ that perhaps (reflecting on the bounties of their true  
 “ benefactor) they may turn back from their wickedness  
 “ and oppressions, and be grateful for the favours which  
 “ they receive.

“ BUT if they neglect to pay the tribute  
 “ of gratitude to their God, and return not back to the  
 “ holy gate, and if they forget the bounties of their  
 “ Creator, and the prophet of their Creator, they shall in  
 “ the end be overtaken by the anger and the vengeance of  
 “ the omnipotent chastiser.”

WHEN the letter of my venerable PEER  
 came to my hands, I wrested from the grasp of the op-  
 pressors

وفاستقان و فاجران بر آوردم و در دفع و رفع ایشان کهر  
هبت بر بستم

### تزوک ملک داری

هر ملک را که مسخر ساختم عزیزان آن  
ملک را عزیز داشتم و سادات و علما و فضلا و مشایخ را  
تعظیم و احترام نمودم و سیورغال و وظیفه و مرسوم بایشان  
مقرر ساختم و کلانتران آن ولایت را بمنزله برادر  
و خوردان و اطفال را بجای فرزند دانستم

و سپاه آن ملک را بدرگاه خود راه  
دادم و رعایا را مستمال گردانیدم و همه را در میانه  
امید و بیم نگاهداشتم و به نیکان هر ملک نیکی  
کردم و بدان و اشرار و بد نفسان را از مملکت اخراج  
نمودم

و ادانی و اراذل را در مرتبه ایشان  
نگاهداشتم و نکذاشتم که قدم از حد خود فراتر  
گذارند و اکابر و اشراف را بهراتب عالیہ امتیاز دادم  
و ابواب عدالت در هر ملک مفتوح داشتم و طریق ظلم  
و ستم را مسدود گردانیدم

و حاجم

pressors and the infidels, and from the seditious, and the wicked, and the impious, the lands of the Lord: and I girded up my loins to extirpate and destroy them. Book II.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE GOVERNMENT OF CONQUERED KINGDOMS.

IN every kingdom which I conquered, I respected those who were worthy of respect, and I venerated and honoured the posterity of the prophet, and the theologians, and the learned, and the holy men; and I conferred upon them estates, and pensions, and appointments. And I considered the powerful and the opulent of that country as my brethren; and as my children, the poor and the helpless infants thereof.

AND the soldiers of that kingdom I admitted to my presence; and I soothed and encouraged the subjects; and I kept both the one and the other suspended between hope and fear. And to the good of every country I did good; and I expelled from my kingdoms the vicious, and the wicked, and the seditious.

THE base and the abject I confined within their proper bounds; and I permitted them not to exceed the limits prescribed them. And on the nobles and the grandees I conferred preeminence by exalted dignities; and I threw open the portals of equity and justice in every country; and I closed up the avenues to cruelty and oppression.

X x

AND



وحاکم هر ملکي را که مسخر من شد  
حکومت آن ولایت را باز بوي ارزاني داشتم و ويرا بقید  
احسان در آورده مطیع ومنتقاد خود ساختم وهر که  
بمن در نیامد ویرا بکردار وي گرفتار گردانیدم و حاکم  
عادل وعاقل وعامل بر ایشان تعیین نمودم .

وامر کردم که دزدان و قطاع الطريق  
هر ملک را بیاسا رسانند و مفسدان و اشرار و بد نفسان را  
از ملک اخراج نمایند و هرزه کاران را در شهر و ملک  
نگذارند

و کوتوالی شهر و قصبه تعیین کنند  
که نگاهبان رعیت و سپاه باشد و آنچه از هر کس  
بیدزدي رود در عهده کوتوال باشد

وامر نمودم که بر سر راهها ضابطان  
تعیین نمایند که حارث و پاسبان راهها بوده اموال  
و اسباب و امتعه متردین تجار و مسافران را منزل بینزل  
برسانند و اگر فوتي و فرو گذاشتي در آن بشود از  
عهده جواب آن بر آیند

وامر

AND every kingdom which I reduced, I Book II.  
gave back the government of that kingdom to the prince  
thereof; and I bound him in the chains of kindness and  
generosity; and I drew unto me his obedience and sub-  
mission. The refractory I overcame by their own devices;  
and I appointed over them a vigorous, and sagacious, and  
upright governor.

AND I commanded that the thieves and  
the high-way robbers of every country should be put to  
death; and that the seditious, and the vicious, and the  
profligate should be banished from the realm; and that  
vagrants and buffoons should not be permitted to reside in  
the cities or in the country;

AND that a magistrate should be appointed  
in every city and in every town, who should watch over  
the conduct of the soldier and the subject; and that he  
should be accountable for every thing that was stolen.

AND I ordered that guards should be sta-  
tioned at the entrance of the roads; and that they should  
watch and defend the roads and the stages; and conduct  
in safety from stage to stage the merchandize, and the  
effects, and the property of the merchant and the traveller;  
and that if any loss or deficiency should be found therein,  
that they should be answerable for the value thereof.

وامر نبودم که حکام به تهت و سخنان  
اریاب غرض و بد بویان و بد نفسان بر هیچ فردی از  
افراد متوطنان و ساکنان بلاد و امصار جریت نکنند  
بعد از ثبوت گناه از احداث اریعه جریت فراخور گناه  
از محرم بگیرند

وامر نبودم که سر شہاری و خانہ شہاری  
از هیچ شہری و قصبہ نگیرند و هیچکس از سپاہ در  
خانہ رعیت بزور نزول نکند و چہاریایان و اولاغ \* رعایا  
نگیرند

و در جمع امور رعایا، ہر مہلکتی  
در سلوک و معاش حد اعتدال نگاہدارند و امر نبودم  
کہ کدایان ہر ملک را وظیفہ مقرر گردانند تا رسم  
کدای، بر افتد

تزرک خبر داری و آگاہی از احوال  
ملک و مہلکت و رعیت و سپاہ

امر نبودم کہ در ہر سرحدی و ولایتی  
و شہری و لشکری خبر نویسی تعیین نہایند کہ از  
اعمال

AND I commanded that the governors Book II.  
 should not presume to punish or oppress any one of the  
 inhabitants of the towns or the cities under their jurisdic-  
 tion, on the accusation (or information) of the malevo-  
 lent, and the profligate and the self-interested; but that  
 after conviction, according to the FOUR INSTITUTIONS,  
 a fine should be levied on the guilty person in propor-  
 tion to the misdemeanour.

AND I ordained that the poll-tax and the  
 house-tax should not be levied on any town, or on any  
 city whatever; and that no one of the soldiers should  
 presume to enter by force the dwelling of a civil inhabi-  
 tant, or to seize on the cattle, or the property, of the  
 subject;

AND that in every concern of the inhabi-  
 tants of every country, the governors thereof should in  
 their conduct keep within the limits of equity and justice.  
 And I ordained that subsistence should be allowed to the  
 mendicants of every kingdom, that the practice of beg-  
 ing might be abolished.

REGULATIONS FOR THE OBTAINING  
 INTELLIGENCE AND INFORMATION OF THE STATE  
 OF THE EMPIRE, AND OF THE PROVINCES, AND OF  
 THE SOLDIERS, AND OF THE SUBJECTS.

I ordained that on every frontier, and in  
 every country, and in every city, and in every camp a  
 writer of intelligence should be established; and that  
 each

اعمال و افعال حکام و رعیت و سپاه و لشکر خود و لشکر  
 بییکانه و مداخل و مخارج مال و منال و در آمدن و بر  
 آمدن مردم بییکانه و قوافل از اهل هر مملکت و اخبار  
 ممالک و سلاطین همسایه و اعمال و افعال ایشان و جماعه  
 علما و افاضل که از بلاد بعیده روی بدرگاه من  
 آورده باشند بتفصیل از روی راستی و درستی بدرگاه  
 مینوشته باشند

و اگر خلاف نمایند و از قرار واقع ننویسند  
 انکشتان اخبار نویسان قطع نمایند و اگر اخبار نویسی  
 کار سپاهی را پوشیده دارد و در لباس دیگر بنویسد  
 دست ویرا قطع کنند و اگر دروغی را بنابر تهت  
 و غرضی نوشته باشد او را بقتل رسانند و امر نمود که  
 اخبار مذکور روز بروز و هفته بهفته و ماه به ماه بعرض  
 برسد

و امر نمود که یک هزار نفر جازه سوار  
 و اسب سوار چیتونچی\* رونده دونده و هزار نفر پیاده  
 جلد تعیین نمایند که اخبار ممالک و سرحد و اراده  
 و مقاصد

each should write to the imperial presence, with truth and perspicuity, full accounts of the conduct and the behaviour of the governors, and of the officers ; and of the soldiers, and of the subjects ; and of the state of my own armies, and of those of foreign powers ; and of the bringing in, and the carrying out of all merchandize and commodities ; and of the entrance, and the departure of all strangers, and of all Kauruvvauns of every country ; and of the transactions of the neighbouring kingdoms and princes, and of their conduct and behaviour ; and also of the learned and skilful men of distant countries, who might turn their faces towards my dominions :

AND that if the writer of intelligence was guilty of falsehood, and wrote not the true state of the facts, his fingers should be cut off : and that if he suppressed the laudable actions of a soldier, or wrote an unjust account thereof he should be deprived of his right hand : and that if he wrote a false account from enmity and from malice, he should be put to death. And I commanded that these accounts should be transmitted unto me day by day, and week by week, and month by month.

AND I ordained, that a thousand swift camel-men, and a thousand swift horse-men, and a thousand expeditious foot-men should be selected ; and that they should inform themselves of the occurrences of the countries, and of the frontiers ; and of the intentions and  
the

و مقاصد سلاطین جوار را تحقیق نموده و بحضور آمده  
 خبر رسانند تا آنکه پیش از وقوع واقع اعلاج نمایم  
 چنانچه خبر شکست یافتن توتش  
 خان از اروس خان بهین رسید دانستم که وی بهین  
 پناه خواهد آورد و استعداد جنگ اروس خان و امداد  
 توتش خان نمودم

چنانچه در وقتی که بر تسخیر مبالک  
 هندوستان عازم شدم بهین خبر رسانیدند که در هر  
 نواحی هندوستان حاکمی و والی بر تخت سلطنت  
 نشست

چنانچه سارنگ برادر ملو خان در سر  
 زمین ملتان علم حکومت بر افراخته و در دهلی سلطان  
 محمود خان علم سلطنت بر افراخته و در ناحیه لاهور  
 ملو خان لشکر جمع آورده و مبارک خان در نواحی  
 قنوج بدعوی سلطنت بر خاسته و در هر ولایتی از  
 ولایت هندوستان شخصی کردن بدعوی سلطنت  
 برافراخته

چون این خبر به سامع من رسید تسخیر  
 آن ملک در نظر من آسان نبود لیکن در نظر سپاه  
 مشکل بود  
 چنانچه

the designs of the neighbouring princes; and that they Book II.  
should return unto the presence, and give me information  
thereof, that I might provide the remedy before the evil  
arrived.

THUS I received intelligence of the defeat  
of Touktummish Khaun by Auroos Khaun. I knew that  
Touktummish Khaun would fly for protection unto me;  
and I made the necessary preparations to support Touk-  
tummish, and to wage war with Auroos.

THUS at the time that I was about to un-  
dertake the reduction of the empire of Hindostaun, in-  
formation was brought unto me, that independent princes  
and chiefs were seated on the throne of government in  
every quarter of those dominions;

THUS, that Saurung, the brother of Mulloo  
Khaun, had elevated the standard of power in the land  
of Mooltaun; and that in Dehli Sooltaun Muhmood  
Khaun had erected the ensign of authority; and that in  
the territories of Lauhore Mulloo Khaun had drawn to-  
gether a numerous army; and that Mubbauruk Khaun  
had aspired to the regal title in the kingdom of Kunnouj;  
and that in every province of the provinces of Hindostaun  
some one had assumed the regal dignity.

WHEN I received this information, the  
conquest of that empire appeared easy in my sight; but  
in the eyes of my soldiers it was an undertaking of diffi-  
culty.

Y y

THUS,



چنانچه در وقت که مملکت هند را  
 مسخر ساختم خبر بهن رسید که قیصر روم بر بعضی  
 مملکت من ترکناز آورده و گرجیان از حد خود  
 تجاوز نهوده به بعضی قلاع که لشکرهاي من آنرا  
 محاصره داشتند آمده مدد اهلای قلعه کرده اند

و خود بخود کنکاش کردم اگر در  
 هند توقف نمایم در مملکت ایران خللی روی  
 خواهد داد نسق دار الملک هند نهوده ایلغار کردم  
 و روزی چند در ماورالنهر توقف نمودم و از آنجا متوجه  
 روم و گرجستان شدم و جمیع آن ممالک مسخر  
 ساختم

تزوک سلوک و معاش بهتوطنان  
 و ساکنان بلاد و نسق مزارات اولیا و بزرگان دین  
 و اوقاف و نذارات

امر نمودم که هر مملکتی که مسخر  
 گردد سپاهی که در آن مملکت باشد و پناه آورد  
 نوکر سازند و جای دهند و رعایا و متوطنان آن دیار را  
 از حوادث و قتل و غارت و اسیری محافظت نمایند

واموال

THUS, when I had subdued the empire of Hind, I received intelligence that the Keefur of Room had ravaged certain of my provinces ; and that the natives of Goorjistaun, exceeding their proper limits, had advanced to certain castles which were besieged by my forces ; and that they had given succour to the inhabitants of those castles. Book II.

AND I reflected with myself, that if I tarried longer in the empire of Hindostaun, disorders would arise in the kingdom of Eraun. Having settled the affairs of the empire of Hind, I returned from thence with speed. And I halted for a few days in Mauwur u Nuhur, and from thence I proceeded towards Room and Goorjistaun ; and I conquered the whole of that extensive empire.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE CONDUCT TO BE OBSERVED TOWARDS THE NATIVES, AND THE INHABITANTS, OF EVERY COUNTRY. AND OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS OF THE SHRINES OF THE SAINTS, AND OF THE FATHERS OF THE HOLY RELIGION. AND OF THE GIFTS AND PIOUS DONATIONS.

I ordained, in every kingdom which should be subdued, that the warrior of that kingdom who submitted unto me should be received into my service ; and that the subjects and the inhabitants of that country should be protected from injuries, and from slaughter, and from rapine, and from slavery ;

واموال واسباب ایشان را از تاراج ویغها  
نکاهدارند و غنایی را که از آن ملک بدست آید  
بقید ضبط در آورند

وسادات و علما و مشایخ و فضلا و اکابر  
واشراف را اعزاز نمایند و کدخدیان و کلانتران  
ودهقانان و مزارعان را استیالت دهند  
ورعایا را در میانه امید و بیم نکاهدارند  
و مقدار گناه و استعداد او جریمت بگیرند

وامر نمودم که بسادات و علما و مشایخ  
وفضلا و درویشان و گوشه نشینان هر مهلکی که  
بتسخیر در آید سیورغالات و وظیفه و مرسوم بدهند و بفقرا  
و عجزه مساکین مدد و معاش مقرر دارند و بهد رسیدن  
و مشایخ و وظیفه معین نمایند

و بروضات و مزارات اولیای و اکابر دین  
مواضع

AND that their effects and their property Book II.  
 should be protected from ravage and from plunder ; and  
 that the spoils which had been gathered from that coun-  
 try should be taken from the spoilers ;

AND that the posterity of the prophet, and  
 the theologians, and the holy and the learned men, and  
 the nobles and the grandees should be treated with honour  
 and respect ; and that the chiefs, and the leading men,  
 and the principal men of the towns and the villages, and  
 those who followed agriculture, should be protected and  
 encouraged ;

AND that the subjects in general should be  
 kept suspended between hope and fear ; and that when  
 guilty of a crime, they should be fined in proportion to  
 the offence, and to their ability.

AND I ordained that to the posterity of  
 the prophet, and to the theologians, and to the learned,  
 and to the holy men, and to the religious, and to the re-  
 cluse in every country which should come under my  
 dominion, lands, and pensions, and appointments should  
 be granted ; and that subsistence and support should be  
 allowed to the poor, and to the helpless, and to the in-  
 digent ; and that to the teachers, and to the learned in  
 religion salaries should be granted ;

AND that for the support of the shrines  
 and the sepulchres of the saints, and the fathers of the  
 holy

مواضع و قنّی کنند و فرش و آتش و روشنای مقرر  
نمایند

و اول بروضه مقدسه امیر المومنین شاه  
مردان علي ابن ابي طالب گرم الله وجه محال  
نخنی و جلّه را قنّی نمایند

و بروضه منوره امام حسين رضي الله  
عنه و بروضه قدوة الاوليا شيخ عبد القادر و مقبره امام  
اعظم ابو خنیفه رحمت الله علیه و مزارات دیگر مشایخ  
و اکابر و بزرگان دین که در بغداد آسوده اند از  
برای هریک علي قدرهم مواضع و دهات کربلا و بغداد  
و غیره و قنّی نمایند

و برای روضه منوره امام موسي کاظم  
و امام محمد نقي و سلیمان فارسي محال مزروعه از  
جزایر و غیره حاصلات مداین قنّی کنند

و بجهت روضه متبرکه امام علي ابن  
موسي ناحیه کته بست و محال شهر طوس را قنّی  
نمایند و فرش و روشنای آتش یومیه مقرر سازند و بجهت  
مزارات

holy religion, lands should be appointed; and that carpets, and food, and lamps should be allowed to those who resided therein: Book II.

AND first, that for the holy shrine of the commander of the faithful, the king of men, Aali † the son of Aboo Taulib (on whom be the favour of God) the districts of Bukhf and Jilleh should be assigned;

AND that for the pure shrine of the Imaum Hoosseïn (whom the Almighty reward) and for the shrine of the mirror of the saints, Sheikh Abdulkaudir; and for the shrine of the great Imaum Aboo Khunneefeh (the mercy of God be upon him) and for the sepulchres of the other saints, and fathers, and distinguished men of the holy religion, who rested from their labours in the city of Bughdaud; that for each of them, according to their dignities, the lands and the villages of Kurbullau and of Bughdaud, and other districts should be assigned;

AND that for the support of the holy shrines of Imaum Moofi Kauzim, and Imaum Mahummud Nukki, and Soolamaun Faurfi, the fertile lands of Juzzaur and other cities should be granted;

AND that for the support of the sacred sepulchres of Imaum Aali, the son of Moofi, the lands of Kuttch Bust, and the environs of the city of Toos should be assigned; and that carpets, and lamps, and

† The fourth Khalif, and son-in-law to the Mahummudan lawgiver.

مزارات و مقابر مشایخ ایران و توران نام بنام نذورات  
و اوقاف معین نمایند

وامر نبودم که هر مملکتی که مسخر  
کردن کدایان آن ملک را جمع ساخته یومیه و وظیفه  
مقرر نمایند و ایشان را تبغا\* کنند که دیگر کدای را  
بر طرف سازند و اگر بعد از تبغا کدای نمایند  
ایشانرا به بلاد بعیده بفروشند یا سر دهند تا کدازان  
از مملکت من کم شود

تزوک تحصیل مال و خراج از رعیت  
ونسق و رونق ملک و معیوری و آبادانی و ضبط  
و حراست مملکت

امر نبودم که مال و خراج از رعیت  
بنهجي بگیرند که موجب خرابی رعیت و ویرانی  
مملکت نشود که خرابی رعیت موجب گهی خرابی  
است و گهی خرابی باعث تفرقه سپاه است و تفرقه  
سپاه موجب اختلال مرتبه سلطنت است

وامر

daily bread should be allowed to the religious ; and that benefactions and gifts should be granted for the sepulchres and the Mausoleums of each of the saints of Eraun and of Tooraun. Book II.

AND I ordained that, in every kingdom which should be conquered, the mendicants of that country should be gathered together ; and that subsistence and daily bread should be allowed unto them ; and that they should be made pensioners and beg no more. And if after they were made pensioners they continued the practice of asking alms, I commanded that they should be sold into foreign countries, or expelled from the realm : that the race of beggars might become extinct in my dominions.

REGULATIONS CONCERNING THE COLLECTION OF THE REVENUES AND THE TAXES FROM THE SUBJECTS ; AND THE ORDER AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE PROVINCES ; AND THE CULTIVATION, AND THE POPULATION, AND THE GOVERNMENT, AND THE POLICE OF THE EMPIRE.

I ordained that the revenues and the taxes should be collected in such a manner, as might not be productive of ruin to the subject, or of depopulation to the country. For the ruin of the subject causeth a diminution of the imperial treasures ; and a diminution of the imperial treasures effecteth the dispersion of the troops ; and the dispersion of the troops produceth the extinction of the imperial power.

Z z

AND



وامر نبودم که هر مبلکتی که مسخر  
 گردد و از حوادث در امن و امان در آید حاصل  
 واصل آن ملک را ملاحظه نمایند  
 و اگر رعایا جمیع قدیم راضی باشند  
 برضای ایشان عمل نمایند و الا موافق ترک جمع  
 بریندند

وامر نبودم که خراج موافق حاصل  
 زراعت بکیرند و جمع بر حاصل زمین بر بندند  
 چنانچه اول اراضی مزروعه رعیت را که  
 بآب کاریز و چشمه و نهر ورود خانه زراعت کرده  
 باشند و آن آبها دوام و استبرار داشته باشد ضبط  
 نمایند و آنچه حاصل آن اراضی باشد دو حصه بر رعیت  
 بگذارند و یک حصه بسرکار اعلیٰ تحصیل نمایند  
 و اگر رعایا آدای اراضی مضبوطه بنقدی  
 راضی باشد آنچه غله حصه سرکار را موافق نرخ وقت  
 نقدی بر رعیت قرار دهند و موافق نرخ نقد  
 بسپاهی برسانند

و اگر

AND I ordained that, in every country Book II.  
 that should be subdued (to the inhabitants of which char-  
 ters of safety and security from dangers should be granted)  
 the produce and the revenue of that country should be  
 inspected ;

IF the subjects were satisfied with the old  
 and established taxes, that those taxes should be confir-  
 med, agreeably to the wishes of the subjects ; or if not,  
 that they should be determined according to the REGU-  
 LATION.

AND I ordained that the duties should be  
 determined in proportion to the produce of the cultivated  
 lands ; and that the taxes on the produce of those lands  
 should be affixed and ascertained :

THUS first, that the cultivated grounds of  
 the subject, which should be made fertile by the water of  
 canals, or by springs, or rivulets, or rivers (if those waters  
 flowed perpetually and continually) should be superinten-  
 ded by the officers of the crown ; and that of the amount  
 of the produce of those grounds, two thirds should be  
 allowed to the possessor thereof, and one third be paid  
 into the royal treasury ;

AND if the subject should consent to pay  
 the tax for the restricted lands in specie, that for the grain  
 due to the treasury the sum should be fixed on the subject  
 according to the current price of the grain ; and that cor-  
 responding to the current price of the grain, the money  
 should be paid to the soldiers ; †

† If the price of grain was low the soldiers pay was less, if high, it  
 was more : that is to say, it was always exactly proportioned to the value  
 of the necessaries of life.

واگر رعیت بحاصل و قسمت سه توده  
راضی نشوند اراضی مضبوط را اول و دوم و سیوم جریب  
نبایند و جریب اول را سه خروار و جریب دوم را دو  
خروار و جریب سیوم را یک خروار جمع ببرند و نصف را  
گندم و نصفی را جو اعتبار کنند و آنچه جمع شود  
دو یک مال بکشند

واگر رعیت با وجود این هم بدادن مال  
راضی نشود خرواری گندم را پنج مثقال نقره  
و خرواری جویا دو نیم مثقال نقره نرخ نبایند و ساوری  
قلعه بر آن اضافه کنند و دیگر بهیچ اسم و رسم چیزی  
از رعایا مطالبه نبایند

و باقی زراعت خربنی و ربیع و زمستانی  
و تابستانی رعیت را و زراعتی که بآب باران مزروع  
شده باشد جریب نبایند و آنچه بتخسیر در آید به  
ثلث و ربع عمل کنند

† A *Jurrah* is a certain land-measure, as our acre.

AND if the subject should not be satisfied Book II.  
 with the mode of collection, and with the partition of  
 the general produce into three parts, that the restricted  
 lands should be divided into first, and second, and third  
 Jurreeb; † that the produce of the first Jurreeb should  
 be estimated at three loads, and the produce of the second  
 Jurreeb at two loads, and the produce of the third Jur-  
 reeb at one load; and that half thereof should be esti-  
 mated as wheat, and half thereof as barley; and that  
 of the total amount one half of the produce should be  
 collected;

AND if the subject, notwithstanding this,  
 should be unwilling to pay the tax in kind, that the value  
 of a load of wheat should be fixed at five Miskauls of  
 silver, and the value of a load of barley at two and a  
 half Miskauls of silver; and that the duty of the Kel-  
 laah ‡ should be exacted over and above: but that nought  
 else should be demanded of the subject under any pretext  
 or denomination whatever;

AND that the rest of the lands of the hus-  
 bandman, those which produced in the autumn, and in the  
 spring, and in the summer, and in the winter; and the  
 lands which depended on the rain for fertility, should be  
 divided into Jurreeb; and that of the produce of those  
 which were numbered, a third or a fourth should be col-  
 lected;

† What this duty is, is unknown to the translator.

AND

وسر سپار و مخترفه وسایر جهات بلدان  
و مواضع و آنخور و علف چرا و مراعی موافق دستور  
العبل قدیم بعمل آورند و اگر رعیت راضی نشود  
به هست و بود عبل نمایند

وامر نمودم که پیش از رسیدن محصول  
بر رعیت مال و جهات اطلاق نمایند و چون محصول  
برسد بسه دفعه مال تحصیل کنند  
و اگر رعیت بی تحصیلدار مال گذاری  
نماید تحصیلدار تعیین نمایند و اگر بتحصیلدار  
محتاج شوند بحکم و سخن مال بگیرند و کار  
بچوب و ریسبان و شلاق نرسانند و رعیت را به بند  
و زنجیر متید نکرانند

وامر نمودم که هرکس محرابی آباد  
کند و یا کاری احداث نماید یا باغی سبز کند  
یا موضع ویرانی را نو آباد سازد در سال اول چسبزی  
نگیرند و در دوم آنچه رعیت برضای خود بدهد  
بگیرند و در سال سیوم موافق ترک مال بگیرند

والله

AND that the duties on the herbs, and on Book II.  
the fruits, and on all the other productions of the country, and on the reservoirs of water, and on the commons, and on the pasture lands should be fixed and determined according to the ancient and established practices : and if the subject should not be content therewith, that the collections should be settled according to the Hust and Bood. †

AND I ordained that, before the time of the gathering in the grain, the taxes should not be demanded ; and, when the period of the harvest arrived, that they should be collected at three different times ;

AND if the subject paid the royal dues spontaneously, that a tax-gatherer should not be appointed over him ; and if there should be occasion for a tax-gatherer, that he should levy the duties by threats and by authority ; but that he should not make use of the cudgel, and the cord, and the scourge ; nor presume to confine the subject in fetters and in chains.

AND I ordained, whoever undertook the cultivation of waste lands, or built an aqueduct, or made a canal, or planted a grove, or restored to culture a deserted district, that in the first year nothing should be taken from him, and that in the second year whatever the subject voluntarily offered should be received, and that in the third year the duties should be collected according to the REGULATION.

† This regulation is not understood by the translator.

AND

وامر نمودم که اگر ارباب وکلانتر  
بر ریزه رعیت تعدی نباید و موجب خرابی ریزه رعیت  
باشد مقدار خرابی که بر ریزه رعیت رسیده باشد  
از ارباب وکلانتر گرفته بایشان بپرساند که بحال  
خود باز آیند

و مواضع خراب اگر صاحب نداشته  
باشند در خالصه معبور نبایند و اگر صاحب داشته  
باشند و اگر پویشان باشد مصالح الاملاک بوی دهند  
که موضع خود را آباد سازد

وامر نمودم که در زمین خراب کاریها  
جاری سازند و پلهای خراب را عبارت نبایند و بر نهراها  
ورود خانها پلها بنا کنند و در راهها بمقدار یک منزل  
رباطی تعبیر نبایند و راهداران و مستحفظان در راهها  
مقرر دارند و در هر رباطی جمعی را متوطن سازند  
که راهداری و نگاهبانی بدیشان متعلق باشد و مال  
که از اهل غفلت در راهها بدزدی برود راهداران  
از عهده بر آیند

وامر نمودم که در هر شهری و بلدی  
مسجیدی

AND I ordained, that if the rich and the powerful should oppress the poorer subject, and injure or destroy his property, an equivalent for the damage sustained should be levied on the rich oppressor, and be delivered to the injured person; that he might be restored to his former estate:

AND that all ruined lands which lay uncultivated (if there were no owners to those lands) should be annexed to the crown. And if there were owners, and those owners were reduced to distress, I ordained that the necessary supplies should be granted unto them, that they might cultivate their lands anew.

AND I commanded that the ruined bridges should be repaired; and that bridges should be constructed over the rivulets and over the rivers; and that on the roads, at the distance of one stage from each other, Kauruvvaunsurai† should be erected; and that guards and watchmen should be stationed on the road; and that in every Kauruvvaunsurai people should be appointed to reside; and that the watching and the guarding of the roads should appertain unto them: and that those guards should be answerable for whatever should be stolen on the roads from the unwary traveller.

AND I ordained that in every town and in every city a mosque, and a school, and a monastery,

† Buildings for the reception of travellers.



مسجدي و مدرسه و خانقاهي بنا کنند و لنکر خانه  
 بجهت فقرا و مساکين و دار الشفای بجهت مريضان  
 مقرر دارند و طبیبی را موظف ساخته بر دار الشفا  
 موکل دارند و در هر شهری دار الاماره و دار العداله  
 تعبیر کنند و ثورچیان \* بجهت نگاهبانی زراعت و رعیت  
 مقرر نمایند

و امر نمودم که در هر ملکی سه وزیر  
 تعیین نمایند یکی برای رعیت که آنچه از رعیت  
 تحصیل شود واصلات آنرا سر رشته نگاهدارد که چه  
 مبلغ و چه مقدار از رعیت بهر اسم و رسم بر آمده جمع  
 آنرا نگاهدارد

و وزیر دوم از برای سپاه که بسپاهیان  
 چه مبلغ رسیده و چه مبلغ طلب دارند

و وزیر سیوم از برای ضبط اموال غایب  
 و آینده و رونده و حاصل بادی و هوای و ضبط اموال  
 مجانیین و موارث و ااثام که باستصواب قاضی و شیخ  
 الاسلام جمع سازد

و امر

and an alms house for the poor and the indigent, and an hospital for the sick and infirm should be founded ; and that a physician should receive a salary, and should be appointed to attend the hospital : and that in every city a government-house, and a court for the administration of justice should be built : and that superintendants should be appointed to watch over the cultivated lands, and over the husbandmen.

Book II.

AND I ordained that in every country three Vizzeers should be stationed. The FIRST for the subject, To keep a regular account of the taxes and the duties received, and what sums, and to what amount, were paid in by the subject, and under what denomination, and on what account ; and to preserve an exact statement of the whole.

THE SECOND for the soldier, To take account of the sums paid to the troops, and of the sums remaining due unto them.

THE THIRD, To take possession of the Amwaul a Ghaubi,† and of the customs on the comers and on the goers ; and of the revenues of the Baudi and the Huvvaui ; and to take possession of the effects of those who should become insane, and of those who died intestate, and of those who suffered by the laws. And he was to take possession of those effects with the approbation of the magistrate and of the ecclesiastical judge.

† The effects of people lost, or absconded.

وامر نمودم که اموال اموات را بوارث  
 رسانند و اگر وارث نباشد در ابواب الخیر صرف  
 نمایند یا بیکه معظه بفرستند

تنوک جنگ وجدل و در آمد و بر آمد  
 معرکه وصف آرایء و فوج شکنی

امر نمودم که اگر غنیم از دوازده  
 هزار سوار کم باشد درین جنگ امیر الامرا سردار  
 باشد و دوازده هزار سوار از اویهاق و تومانات بوی همراه  
 نمایند و از مینسک باشیان و یوز باشیان و اون باشیان  
 نیز همراه گردانند

و بهسافت یک منزل بجانب غنیم پیش  
 رفته به غنیم رو برو شود و خبر بین بفرستد

وامر نمودم که این دوازده هزار سوار  
 به فوج مرتب سازند برین ترتیب قول یک فوج و برانغار  
 سه فوج و جرانغار سه فوج و هراول یک فوج و قراول یک  
 فوج

و فوج برانغار مشتبلی باشد بر هراولی  
 و چپاولی و شقاولی و همچنین فوج جرانغار متضمن سه  
 فوج هراول و چپاول و شقاول باشد

وامر

AND I commanded that the property of Book II.  
the deceased should be restored to the lawful heir; and  
if there should be no heir, that it should be expended in  
pious uses, or be sent to the holy city of Mecca.

REGULATIONS OF WAR: FOR ENTERING  
INTO AND RETIRING FROM THE FIELD OF BATTLE;  
AND FOR FORMING THE LINE; AND FOR DEFEAT-  
ING ARMIES.

I ordained, if the enemy exceeded not twelve  
thousand cavalry, that an Ameer ul Omrau should com-  
mand the opposing army: and that twelve thousand horse-  
men of the Ouyemauk, and the Toumaun; also Mingbau-  
shee, and Euzbaushee, and Ounbaushee Ameers should  
be placed under his command:

AND that he should advance to within the  
distance of one day's march from the enemy, and that  
he should halt opposite unto them, and send me informa-  
tion thereof.

AND I commanded that those twelve thou-  
sand horse should be formed in nine divisions after this  
manner: The main body one division, and the right wing  
three divisions, and the left wing three divisions, and the  
advanced guard one division, and the advanced guard of  
the advanced guard one division:

AND that the right wing should consist of  
its own advanced guard, and its right and its left divi-  
sions; and that the left wing should also consist of its own  
advanced guard, and of its right and its left divisions.

AND

وامر نهودم که امیر الامرا در زمین  
 جنگ گاه چهار چیز ملاحظه نماید اول آب آن  
 سر زمین دوم زمینی که سپاه را نگاهدارد سیوم  
 که بر غنیم مشرف باشد و آفتاب رو برو نباشد تا  
 شعاع آفتاب چشم سپاه را خیره نکراند چهارم پیش  
 روی جنگ گاه کشاده ووا باشد

وامر نهودم که پیش از جنگ یک روز  
 صی آرای، نهابند و تزک افواج نهوده قدم پیش  
 گذارند و سستی که میرفته باشند سر اسپان خود  
 از آن سبت بر نکرده اند و بچپ و راست میل نکنند  
 و امر نهودم که چون نظر سپاه بر افواج غنیم افتد  
 باوازه بلند تکبیر گفته سون اندازند

واگر عارض لشکر بیند که  
 سردار خطا کند آن عارض دیکری را بجای وی  
 بنشانند و برلیغ فتح که من بوی سپرده ام بامرا  
 و سپاه نهودار گرداند

† *Ullab akbar, God is great.*

وامر

AND I ordered that the general should Book II.  
attend to four particulars in his choice of the field of battle.—FIRST, the water thereof.—And SECONDLY, the strength of the ground, that his flanks and his rear might be covered.—And THIRDLY, that his situation be more elevated than the situation of the enemy; and that the sun be not in his front, that the glare thereof dazzle not the eyes of his troops.—FOURTHLY, that the ground before his lines be extensive and open.

AND I commanded that the army should be marshalled, and the line be formed on the day preceeding the action; and that (the forces being ranged in order of battle) they should march towards the enemy; and that they should not turn the heads of their horses from the direction in which they were advancing; that they should neither incline to the left nor to the right. And when the eyes of the army fell upon the forces of the enemy, I ordered that they should utter a great shout, and repeat the Tuckbeer † with a loud voice.

AND I commanded, if the Auriz ‡ of the army saw that the leader thereof was deficient in his duty, that he should deprive him of his command, and appoint another in his place; and that he should open and communicate to the Ameer and to the soldiers the order which I had delivered unto him for that purpose.

† A sort of field-deputy, appointed to observe the conduct of the commander in chief.

AND

وامر نمودم که سردار لشکر باتفاق عارض  
 کهي وبسياري لشکر غنيم را ملاحظه نمايند و سرداران  
 طرف خود و طرف غنيم را مقابلہ نمايند و در کهي  
 وبسياري تلافي و تدارک کنند و اسلحه سپاه خود و سپاه  
 دشمن بخاطر آورند و رفتار غنيم را به بينند که  
 باهستكي و پيوستكي بچنگ مي در آيند يا مضطراب

و روش جنگ غنيم را بخاطر آورند که  
 ببيک مرتبه ترکناز مي آورند يا فوج فوج متعاقب  
 يکديگر حمله مي آورند و به بينند که در هنگام  
 تاختن خود را غنيم ميرساند و بر مي گردد و باز حمله  
 آورد يا بهمان حمله اول اکتفاي نمايند اگر چنين  
 باشد سپاه را است که صدمه تاخت ايشانرا بردارد  
 و صبر نهايد که شجاعت صبر يک ساعت است

وامر نمودم که تا غنيم بچنگ مبادرت  
 ننياید بر وي سبقت نکيرند و امر نمودم که چون  
 غنيم

AND I ordained that the general of the Book II.  
 army should, in conjunction with the Auriz, reconnoitre  
 the numbers of the foe.; and that he should compare his  
 chiefs with those of the enemy, and confront them to  
 each other accordingly; and that he should take the ne-  
 cessary precautions to supply all deficiencies; and that  
 he should consider well the different kinds of arms used  
 by the soldiers of the enemy and by his own; and that  
 he should observe the motions of his foes, whether they  
 advanced into the field slowly and in good order, or whe-  
 ther they rushed forward in confusion;

AND that he should consider and compre-  
 hend the movements and the order of the enemy's bat-  
 tle, whether they charged at once and in an united body,  
 or by detachments, the one succeeding the other; and  
 that he should observe, in the moment of assault, whether  
 the enemy advanced and retired, and prepared to charge  
 again, or whether they appeared satisfied with their first  
 attempt. When the latter is the case, it is the duty of  
 the soldier to bear lightly the shock of the enemy's at-  
 tack, and to stand firm and patient. For bravery is but  
 patience and firmness for an hour.

AND I ordained that until the foe advanced  
 to the attack, he should not be attacked. And I ordered,  
 when the enemy entered the field of battle, that the at-

B b b

tention



غنیم بهیدان در آید سردار را نظر بر فرمایش و کار  
فرمودن افواج نهکانه باشد

چه کار سردار همین است که افواج را  
کار فرماید و سردار را است که در وقت کار دل خود را  
پای ندهد و دست و پا کم نکند و هر فوجی را  
بهینزله سلاحی از اسلحه فرا گیرد از تبر و تبر  
و شمشیر و کرز و کار و خنجر و هر فوج را بوقت کار  
فرماید

و سردار را است که نه فوج را و خود را  
بهینزله شخص کشتی گیر فرا گیرد که به هر عضو  
خود از دست و پا و سر و سینه و غیره بچنگ در آمده  
و امید است که چون نه ضرب شمشیر دفعه دفعه بر  
فوج غنیم برسد البته در ضرب نهم شکست یابد

و سردار را است که اول فوج هراول را  
بر غنیم بدواند و هراول برانغار متعاقب آن بیدد  
بفرستد و از عقب هراول برانغار هراول جرانغار را براند  
تا آنکه سه ضرب بر افواج غنیم آید اگر درین وقت  
هراولان زیونی نهابند فوج اول برانغار را براند و از  
عقب

tention of the general should be turned to the conducting Book II.  
and the directing of the efforts of his troops.

FOR the duty of the commander is to govern and to guide the movements of his forces ; and to be cool, and firm, and collected within himself in the hour of trial ; and to consider each division of his army as a particular instrument of the instruments of war ; as the arrow, and the battle-axe, and the sword, and the mace, and the poniard, and the dagger ; and to direct the edge or the point of each in the moment of necessity.

AND it is the duty of a general to consider himself and the nine divisions of his army as a wrestler who entereth into action, and fighteth with every part of his body — with his arms and with his feet, and with his breast, and with his head. And there is ground for expectation, when eight assaults shall have been successively made on the line of the enemy, that in the ninth shock they will certainly be defeated.

AND it is the business of a skilful general first to charge the foe with his advanced guard. And let him then send forward the advanced guard of his right wing to support them ; and after them the advanced guard of the left wing : that three successive shocks may be given to the force of the enemy. And if at this juncture the advanced guards should shrink back from before the foe, let him direct the first division of the right wing to

عقب وي فوج دوم جرانغار را براند اگر فتح نشود  
 فوج دوم برانگار براند و متعاقب وي فوج اول  
 جرانغار را براند و خبر يهن فرستند

و منتظر رايات من باشد و تكيه بر عنايات  
 الهي کرده سردار خود بجنك در آيد و مرا در معرك  
 حاضر داند كه بتوفيق الله چون هشت ضرب بر  
 غنيم واقع آيد در ضرب نهم غنيم شكست خورد  
 و فتح روزي شود

و سردار را است كه تميز جلوي نكند  
 و لشكر را كار فرمايد و بعد از آنكه كار بويي رسد تا  
 تواند خود را بكشتن ندهد كه گشته شدن سردار  
 بد نامي آرد و موجب خيرهگي غنيم مي گردد  
 پس سردار را است كه براي و تدبير  
 كاز كند و تعجيل نكند كه تعجيل از شيطان  
 است و بجاي در نيآيد كه از آن نتواند بر آمد  
 ترتيب صنف ارايه

charge, and after them the second division of the left wing: and if victory proceedeth not from them, let him order the second division of the right wing into action, and let them be followed by the first division of the left wing. And in this state of the conflict let the commander dispatch information unto me. Book II.

AND let him depend upon the arrival of my standard, and resting on the favour of Almighty God, advance himself upon the foe, and consider me as present in the action. For when (by the favour of God) eight successive shocks have been given to the strength of the enemy, they must sink under the ninth, and the victory be obtained.

AND it is the business of a general neither to be rash nor precipitate; but to direct the operations of his troops *with firmness and presence of mind*. And when he himself shall be obliged to enter into action, he must not, whilst he can avoid it, give himself up to death: for the death of the general bringeth disgrace upon the army, and encreaseth the obstinacy of the enemy.

THEREFORE it is the duty of a commander to shun temerity, and to act with deliberation and prudence: for temerity is the offspring of the devil. And let him also be careful that he venture not into a situation, out of which he cannot extricate himself and his army.

فوج قراول

فوج هراول

فوج هراول برانغار      فوج هراول جرانغار

اول فوج برانغار\* دویم فوج      اول فوج جرانغار\* دویم فوج  
برانغار      جرانغار

قول

See PLATE I.

OF TIMOUR.

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Book II.



تزوک صنف ارایء افواج قاهره را چنین  
 بر بستم  
 امر نمودم که اگر لشکر غنیم از دوازه  
 هزار سوار زیاده باشد لیکن بچهل هزار نرسد یکی  
 از فرزندان کامکار سردار باشد و دو بیکار بیکی  
 در رکاب وی با امرای وقشونات و توماتات والوسات  
 که از چهل هزار سوار کمتر نباشند حاضر باشند  
 وافواج قاهره باید که مرا حاضر دانسته  
 سر رشته تدبیر و مردی و مردانگی از دست ندهند

وامر نمودم که چون پیشخانه اقبال  
 مرا بر آورند دوازه فوج معین نمایند و بر هر یک  
 امیری از امرای الوسات مقرر باشد و تنک نمایند  
 تا دوازه تنگی که در روش صنف ارایء وافواج  
 شکنی و در آمد و بر آمد که بر بسته ام در نظر داشته  
 باشد

+ *Paiskbaush* is the tent, or set of tents, of the prince; which on a march are sent forward and erected against his arrival at every stage: i. e. there are two sets of tents, and those at the first stage, when struck and sent forward, are not unloaded at the second, but proceed on to the third stage, and

وسردار

THUS I FORMED REGULATIONS FOR Book II.  
THE ARRANGEMENT OF MY SUPERIOR ARMIES.

IF the forces of the enemy exceeded in number twelve thousand horsemen, and were inferior in number to forty thousand, I ordained that one of my fortunate sons should command against them; and that two Beglerbegs, and the Ameers, with the Toumaunaut, and the Kushoonaut, and the Auloofaut, in number not inferior to forty thousand men, should attend his command:

AND that the troops and the officers, who composed this victorious army, should consider me as present in the field, and give not forth from their hands their discipline, and their courage and their conduct.

AND I commanded, when my Paishkhau-neh † was brought forth, that twelve bodies of troops should be ordered out; and that an Ameer of the Ameers of the Auloofaut should be appointed to each, and that they should cause them to perform their exercises and evolutions; that they might keep before their eyes the TWELVE MILITARY REGULATIONS, ‡ which I had established for forming, and for breaking the line of battle, and for advancing, and for retreating.

and are there pitched. And thus the tents at the second stage are, when the prince departs, sent on to the fourth stage, so that the two sets are inhabited alternately.

† These regulations are not in the MS, and therefore are supposed to have been omitted by the transcribers through ignorance or inattention.

C c c

H E



وسردار آن است که سرداران سپاه  
 غنیم را بشمار در آورده در مقابل ایشان سرداران  
 تعیین نماید و سپاه جنگی غنیم را از اوچی\* و شیشیری  
 و نیزه دار بنظر اعتبار در آورد و رفتار سپاه غنیم را  
 ببیند که پیوسته و آهسته فوج فوج بیدان جنگ  
 می در آیند یا مغلوبه می تازند و راه در آمدن و بر  
 آمدن خود را ببیدان جنگ ملاحظه نماید و شیوه  
 و روش جنگ غنیم را در یابند  
 که گاه باشد که خود را کم نمودار کنند  
 و خود را کریان و انبایند پس بکر و کریر پای ایشان  
 فریخته نباید شد

وسردار جنگ دیده و کار کرده آنست  
 که بند و بست جنگ را بفهمد که کدام فوج را کشار  
 باید داد و کدام رخنه را بتدبیر باید بر بست و چگونه  
 باید جنگ انداخت سردار آنست که اراده غنیم را  
 بفهمد که بکدام روش بجنگ می در آید و راه  
 هبان شیوه و برا بروی مسدود گرداند

سردار را است که بدین ترتیب چهل  
 هزار سوار را چهار ده فوج مرتب نماید  
 اول

HE is a commander, who, numbering the Book II. chiefs of the forces of the enemy, appointeth proper chiefs in opposition unto them ; and who considereth with the eye of attention the veteran soldiers of the foe, the bow-men, and the sword-men, and the spear-men ; and who observeth the motions of the enemy, whether they advance into the field of battle slowly and in just order, squadron by squadron, or whether they rush forward in confusion ; who pre-examineth the approach to the field, and also the avenue of retreat ; and who penetrateth the order of the enemy's battle.

FOR it shall sometimes come to pass, that they will cause their numbers to appear small, and put on the semblance of flight and dismay. A general therefore must not permit himself to be deceived, and drawn into danger, by their pretended flight.

HE is an able and experienced commander, who understandeth the discipline and the science of war, and who knoweth what division to send forward to the charge, and what evil to remedy by his skill, and what measures to follow in attacking the enemy. He is a general who comprehendeth the intentions of the foe, and who observeth their mode of attack, and counteracteth their motions and designs.

THE general who commands forty thousand horse, must form them into fourteen squadrons after this manner.

C c c 2

FIRST,

اول منی خود را آراسته ساخته قول نام  
 نهد آنگاه سه فوج برانغار مرتب سازد و یکی از آن  
 سه فوج را هراول برانغار نام کند و سه فوج دیگر  
 جرانغار آراسته ساخته یک فوج را هراول جرانغار نام  
 بگذارد

و همچنین سه فوج دیگر در پیش افواج  
 برانغار مرتب ساخته چپاول نام نهد و یکی از آن سه  
 فوج را هراول چپاول گرداند

و همین قسم سه فوج دیگر آراسته در پیش  
 افواج جرانغار مقرر داشته شقاوول نام کند و یکی از  
 آن سه فوج را به هراولی شقاوول تعیین نماید  
 بعد از آن هراول بزرگ را که در  
 مقابل قول می باشد از او قچیان و شمشیر داران  
 و نیزه داران و بهادران آزموده کار کرده را بوجه  
 پسندیده استحکام دهد که الغ \* سورن انداخته همین  
 افواج هراول لشکر غنیم را شکست دهد

1 *Kul*; the main body.

2 *Burraungbaur*; the rear line of the right wing.

3 *Hurrauwul a Burraungbaur*; the advanced guard of the rear line of the right wing.

4 *Furraungbaur*; the rear line of the left wing.

5 *Hurrauwul a Furraungbaur*; the advanced guard of the rear line of the left wing.

وسرदार

FIRST, let him arrange his own line, and Book II.  
 call it the Koul.<sup>1</sup> Let him afterwards form the Burraunghaur<sup>2</sup> with three squadrons; and let one of those three squadrons be called the Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur.<sup>3</sup> And with three other squadrons let him form the Jurraunghaur;<sup>4</sup> and let him name one of those squadrons the Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur.<sup>5</sup>

AND thus also let him form, and station, three other squadrons in the front of the Burraunghaur, and call them the Chuppauwul.<sup>6</sup> And let him appoint one of those squadrons the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul.<sup>7</sup>

AND in the same manner let him arrange three other squadrons, and form them in the front of the Jurraunghaur, and call them the Shuckauwul;<sup>8</sup> and let him nominate one of those squadrons the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul.<sup>9</sup>

AND let him afterwards form in perfect order the grand Hurrauwul,<sup>10</sup> which shall be posted in the front of the Koul, from the bow-men, and the sword-men, and the spear-men, and the warriors of proof: that these troops charging with loud shouts, may disperse and defeat the advanced guards of the enemy.

6 *Chuppauwul*; the front line of the right wing.

7 *Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul*; the advanced guard of the front line of the right wing.

8 *Shuckauwul*; the front line of the left wing.

9 *Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul*; the advanced guard of the front line of the left wing.

10 *Grand Hurrauwul*; grand vanguard.

AND

وسردار را است که نظر بر رفتار غنیم  
داشته باشد و هر امیر که بی حکم حرکت و تیز جلوی  
کند او را تنبه نماید

وسردار را است که نظر بر در آمد و بر  
آمد غنیم داشته باشد و در جنگ انداختن اضطراب  
نکند تا آنکه غنیم بجنگ مبادرت نماید و چون غنیم  
بجنگ در آید سردار را است که روش جنگ ایشانرا  
به بیند که بر چه کیفیت بیدان جنگ می در  
آیند و می بر آیند و چگونه بر ایشان حمله آرد اگر  
حمله آورده باز میگردند و قابو دیده رو بگریز میآورند  
و قابو دیده بر میگردند

وسردار را است که بدنبال غنیمی که  
خود بخود شکست خورد نرود که این چنین غنیم  
پشت کرم کومک خود باشد  
وسردار را است که به بیند که اگر  
غنیم بیدان مبادرت غنچه شده ترکناز می آرد  
و یا افواج چپ و راست خود را کشاده است سردار را  
باید که اول هراول را بایشان رو برو گرداند و بجنگ  
اندازد

و متعاقب آن هراول چپا و هراول  
شقاو را بیدر هراول کلان بغرستند و از عقب  
ایشان

AND it is the duty of the general to keep Book II.  
his eye on the motions of the foe, and to chastize those  
officers under his command, who, without orders, presume  
to advance upon the enemy.

AND it is the duty of the general to attend  
to the onset of the enemy, and not to venture to attack  
them, until they advance to the charge. And when they  
advance, it is the duty of the general to examine their  
order of battle, in what manner they come into action,  
and in what manner they retire therefrom, and after what  
manner he shall engage them; whether they charge and  
retire, and, seeking advantage therein, put on the sem-  
blance of flight; and then, seizing a favourable crisis,  
rally and charge again.

AND it is the duty of a commander not to  
pursue the enemy who without cause flieth from the field:  
for such an enemy may be well prepared for his defence.

AND it is the duty of the general to ob-  
serve whether the enemy advance into the field of battle,  
and charge in an united body; or whether they com-  
mence the attack with the squadrons of their right and  
their left wings. Let the commander first oppose his  
Hurrauwul unto them, and push them on to the charge.

AND after them let him send forward  
the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul and the Hurrauwul a  
Shuckauwul to support the grand Hurrauwul. And in  
the

ایشان فوج اول چپاول و فوج دوم شقاول را بجنگ  
اندازد و از عقب ایشان فوج دوم چپاول و فوج اول  
شقاول را براند

اگر باین هفت ضرب که بر غنیم آید  
فتح نشود درین وقت هراول برانغار و هراول جرانغار را  
بدواند تا آنکه نه ضرب بر غنیم وارد شود

و اگر ازین نه ضرب فتح میسر نشود فوج  
اول برانغار و فوج دوم جرانغار را بدواند

اگر باین یازده ضرب هم فتح روی  
ننماید فوج دوم برانغار و فوج اول جرانغار را بجنگ  
بفرستد امید چنانست که باین سیزده ضرب افواج  
غنیم شکسته شود و فتح میسر گردد

و اگر احیانا باین سیزده ضرب فتح  
حاصل نشود در این وقت سردار را است که افواج قول را  
تزوک کرده روان شود و خود را بهثال گوهی در نظر  
غنیم نمودار گرداند و با هستکی و پیوستی روان  
گردد

و بهادران جنگی را بفرماید که بشهشیر  
در آمده هجوم آورند و لوتچیان شپه تیر نهانند و اگر  
فتح

the rear of them, let him order into action the first squadron of the Chuppauwul and the second squadron of the Shuckauwul, and after them the second squadron of the Chuppauwul and the first of the Shuckauwul. Book II.

IF from these seven shocks which the enemy shall have received, the victory be not obtained, let him at this period send forth the Hurrauwl a Burraunghaur and the Hurrauwl a Jurraunghaur, until nine charges be made on the enemy's line.

AND if victory followeth not from these nine shocks, let him send into battle the first squadron of the Burraunghaur and the second squadron of the Jurraunghaur.

IF by these eleven efforts also the victory be not decided, let him order to the charge the second squadron of the Burraunghaur and the first of the Jurraunghaur. Thus it may be expected that by these thirteen successive charges the lines of the enemy may be broken, and the glory of the day be acquired.

BUT if it should come to pass that the victory should not be won by these thirteen attacks, it is at this crisis the duty of the general to form his Koul in exact order, and put them in motion. Let him shew himself as a lofty mountain to the eyes of the enemy, and move forward with slowness and regularity.

AND let him direct his veteran bands to rush on the foe sword in hand, and command his archers to gall the enemy with their arrows. And if the fate of

D d d

the



فتح نشود سردار خود بجنگ قدم پیش گذارد و منظر  
رایات من باشد ترتیب آراستن چهار ده فوج

### هراول

هراول شقاوول

هراول چپاول

فوج اول شقاوول \* فوج دوم  
[شقاوول]

فوج اول چپاول \* فوج دوم  
[چپاول]

هراول جرانغار

هراول برانغار

فوج اول جرانغار \* فوج دوم  
[جرانغار]

فوج اول برانغار \* فوج دوم  
[برانغار]

### قنول

See PLATE II; pag. 383.

وچنین

the day should still remain in suspense, let the general Book II.  
himself advance into action and depend on the appearance  
of my victorious standards. †

† This passage is unintelligible.

D d d 2

Thus

وچنین تروک بر بستم که اگر غنیم از  
چهل هزار سوار زیاده باشد بیکلر بیکان وامرا ومینک  
باشیان ویوز باشیان واون باشیان وبهادران وسایر سپاه  
نظر بر رایات ظفر ایات من داشته باشند

وامر نبودم که به امیر هر فوج که  
یرلیغ فرستم مطابق حکم یرلیغ عمل نمایند واز آن  
تخلیف نورزند وهر کس از بیکلر بیکان وامرا از حکم  
تخلیف وتجاوز نماید ویرا بشیشیر بکدرانند وکوتل  
ویرا که منتظر الامارت باشد بجای وی نصب  
کنند

وامر نبودم که از جمله چهل اویباق  
الوسات وقشونات وتومانات دوازه اویباق که بتغا  
رسیده اند بچهل فوج قسمت نمایند وامرای بیست  
وهشت اویباق را که به تغا نرسیده اند در عقب  
فوج قول صنف بر بندند وفرزندان ونبیرگان پیش  
دست راست قول افواج خودرا آراسته گردانند  
وخیشاوندان وقربانان پیش دست چپ قول افواج  
خودرا

THUS also I ordained, that if the enemy Book II.  
 should in number exceed forty thousand horse-men, that  
 the eyes of the Beglerbeks, and the Ameers, and the  
 Mingbaushes, and the Euzbaushes, and the Ounbau-  
 shes, and the select warriors, and the soldiers in general  
 should be fixed on my victorious standards. †

AND I commanded, that the chief of every  
 squadron to whom I issued my orders, should act confor-  
 mably to the tenour of those orders, and presume not to  
 deviate therefrom; and that every one of the Beglerbeks,  
 and the Ameers, who was tardy in performing, or diso-  
 beyed, the orders which I sent unto him, should be in-  
 stantly put to death; and that his Kotul, who is the  
 expecter of promotion, should be appointed to his com-  
 mand.

AND I ordained, that from among the forty  
 Ouyemauk of the Aloofaut, the Kushoonaut, and Tou-  
 maunaut, that the twelve Ouyemauk who had obtained  
 the Tumghau, ‡ should be divided into forty squadrons;  
 and that the Ameers of the twenty eight Ouyemauk who  
 had not obtained the Tumghau, should form their line in  
 the rear of the Koul; and that my sons and my grand-  
 sons should draw up their forces before the right of the  
 Koul; and that my relations and my kindred, with the  
 troops under their command, should take their station

† i. e. That he would lead them in person.

‡ Those who received military pay.

before

خود را مراتب دارند که افواج ایشان طرح باشد که بهر جا مدد باید رسانید کومک نمایند

و در برانغار شش فوج مقرر نمایند و یک فوج دیگر هراول برانغار مقرر باشد و همچنین در جرانغار شش فوج آراسته یک فوج دیگر بهراولی جرانغار مقرر دارند

و همچنین امر نمود که شش فوج در پیش افواج برانغار مقرر گردانند و آنرا چپاول نام گذارند و یک فوج دیگر را آراسته هراول چپاول کنند

و همچنین در پیش افواج جرانغار شش فوج معین نمایند و شقاوول نام دهند یک فوج آراسته دیگر هراول شقاوول گردانند

و در پیش افواج چپاول و شقاوول شش فوج از امرای کار کرده و بهادران آزموده آراسته ساخته هراول بزورک مقرر گردانند

و یک فوج سوای این شش فوج هراول مقرر کرده پیشتر معین دارند و هراول هراول نام کنند

و دو

before the left of the Koul ; and that those troops should be bodies of reserve, and that they should dispatch succour to every quarter, where re-inforcement should be wanted: Book II.

AND that six squadrons should constitute the Burraunghaur, and that one other squadron should be appointed the Hurrauwul a Burraunghaur : and thus also, that six squadrons should form the Jurraunghaur ; and that one other squadron should be nominated the Hurrauwul a Jurraunghaur.

AND thus also I ordained, that six squadrons should be posted in the front of the Burraunghaur, and that they should be denominated the Chuppauwul ; and that one other squadron should be formed, and appointed the Hurrauwul a Chuppauwul :

AND that in the same manner six other squadrons should be stationed in the front of the Jurraunghaur ; and that they should be called the Shuckauwul ; and that one other chosen squadron should be appointed the Hurrauwul a Shuckauwul.

AND I ordained that six other squadrons, headed by distinguished Ameers, and composed of warriors of proof and experience, should be advanced before the Chuppauwul and the Shuckauwul ; and that they should be called the grand Hurrauwul :

AND that one other squadron, over and above those six squadrons, should be posted in their front ; and be denominated the Hurrauwul a Hurrauwul :

AND

ودو قراول بيکي را با جباعه برادران  
بر دست راست وچپ هراول هراول مقرر نهايند که  
ديدبان لشکر غنيم باشند

وامر نمودم که امراي افواج چهلکانه  
با دام که يرليغ من بايشان نرسد بجنگ در نيايند  
وتا نوبت جنگ بايشان نرسد دست برد ننهايند ليکن  
مستعد و آماده جنگ باشند

وچون حکم جنگ بايشان برسد روش  
غنيم را ديده بجنگ در آيند که غنيم از کدام راه  
بجنگ مي در آيد آن راه را بر ايشان بر بندند وهر  
راهي که غنيم بر بندد آنرا به تدبير بکشاييند

وامر نمودم که چون هراول هراول  
بجنگ مبادرت نهايد امير هراول افواج ششکانه  
خود را متعاقب يکديگر بجنگ اندازد که چون شش  
ضرب

AND that two Kurrauwl Beghs, † with detachments of their brotherhood, should be posted to the right and to the left of the Hurrauwl a Hurrauwl; and that they should be the Deedbaun ‡ on the army of the enemy. Book II.

AND I ordained that no one of the commanders of the forty squadrons, until he received orders from me, should presume to enter into battle; and that until the moment of his service arrived, he should not move from his station; and that he should stand ready and prepared for action:

AND when he received orders to engage, that he should accommodate his mode of attack to that of the enemy; and that he should observe in what manner the foe advanced into battle, and counteract his designs; and that he should, by skilful and judicious dispositions, carry into effect such of his own movements as had been traversed by the enemy.

AND I ordained, when the Hurrauwl a Hurrauwl began the action, that the leader of the grand Hurrauwl should order his six squadrons to charge successively; that by six shocks, repeatedly given, the enemy may be broken and thrown into confusion. It

† *Kurrauwl Beghs*; chiefs of the light troops or scouts.

‡ *Deedbaun*; observers, people appointed to reconnoitre the motions of the enemy.



ضرب مرتبه بهرتبه بر غنیم زده شود بهم بز آیند  
 وشکسته شوند درین وقت امیر چپاول را است که شش  
 فوج خود را دفعه بدفعه بکومک فرستد و خود هم  
 ترکناز آورد

و همچنین امیر افواج شقاوول فوجهای  
 ششکانه خود را بحد افواج پیش روانه سازد و خود را  
 هم برساند که بحول الله وقوته چون هزاره ضرب  
 بر غنیم زده آید شکسته و کسیخته گردند

واگر با وجود خوردن این ضربها غنیم  
 خیرگی نماید امیر برانغار را باید که هراول خود را  
 براند و امیر جرانغار نیز هراول خود را بدواند

چون این هر دو هراول از چپ و راست  
 در آیند لشکر غنیم البته بی تاب و نا توان گردد

واگر غنیم خیره باشد امیر برانغار و امیر  
 جرانغار افواج خود را مرتبه بهرتبه بر غنیم برانند و اگر  
 بنیند که افواج غنیم را از افواج قاهره شکستی  
 نرسیده امیران برانغار و جرانغار خود را متوجه دفع  
 و رفع دشمنان شوند

واگر

is at this crisis the duty of the leader of the Chuppauwul to detach his six squadrons one after the other to support the grand Hurrauwl; and afterwards to advance, himself, to the charge. Book II.

AND in the same manner also, let the commander of the Shuckauwl push forward successively his six squadrons to reinforce those who are engaged; and lastly let the commander himself advance into action. Thus, by the power and assistance of Almighty God, when eighteen charges shall have been made on the line of the enemy, they will break and disperse.

BUT if notwithstanding those shocks received by the foe, they should continue resolute and firm, it is then the duty of the chief of the Burraunghaur to dispatch forward his Hurrauwl, and of the leader of the Jurraunghaur to send forth his Hurrauwl also.

WHEN those two Hurrauwl advance and charge on the right and on the left of the enemy, their order and their strength shall certainly be broken.

BUT if it should come to pass that the foe still continues firm, let the leaders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur order their squadrons successively on to the charge. And if they see that the enemy give not way to the efforts of the imperial forces, the leaders of the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur must themselves advance, and rush upon the foe.

واگر در این وقت امیران برانغار وجرانغار  
نیونی نایند امیر زادکانی که طرح برانغار اند  
و خویشاوندان که طرح جرانغار اند بر غنیم ترکناز  
آورند

و باید که نظر ایشان بر سردار و علم  
سردار باشد و بشجاعت و سردی صف شکن غنیم  
کردند و قصد گرفتن سردار نایند و کوشش  
کنند که علم مخالفانرا نکونسار گردانند

واگر با وجود این ضریها غنیم قایم  
بوده باشد در این وقت باید که افواج متفرقه و بهادران  
قول و افواج الوساتی که در عقب قول آراسته شده  
بودند بیک مرتبه هجوم آورده ترکناز نایند

واگر در این وقت فتح نشود سلطان را  
است که خود با دل قوی و همت بلند در حرکت آید  
چنانچه من در جنگ قیصر کردم

که بامیر زاده میران شاه که سردار  
دست راست بود امر نمودم که از دست چپ قیصر  
سرکن پرکن در آید و بامیر زاده سلطان محمود  
خان و امیر سلیمان که امیران دست چپ بودند  
برلیغ فرستادم که بر دست راست قیصر هجوم آورند  
و بامیر

AND if at this period the commanders of Book II.  
the Burraunghaur and the Jurraunghaur shew themselves deficient in their duty, the royal princes, and those related to the imperial family, who are the reserves of the Burraunghaur and of the Jurraunghaur, must advance to the assault.

AND they must keep their eyes on the commander and the standard of the commander, and press upon the foe with valour and intrepidity. They must endeavour to seize the general of the hostile army; and they must strive to invert the standard of the foe.

AND if, notwithstanding these shocks, the enemy still remain firm and unmoved; the royal guards, and the select warriors of the Koul, and the forces of the Ouyemauck, which were formed in the rear of the Koul, must rush forward, together and at once, to the charge.

AND if at this period the victory be not decided, it is the duty of the emperor, with fortitude of heart and with exalted resolution, to put himself and the Koul of his army into motion.

THUS I acted in my engagement with Keefur. I commanded the Ameer Zaudch Meeraun Shaah, who was the leader of the right wing of my forces, to charge headlong on the left of Keefur. And I sent orders to Ameer Zaudch Sooltaun Muhmood Khaun, and to Ameer Soolamaun, who commanded my left wing, to attack the right of Keefur.

AND

وبامیرزاده ابو بکر که امیر فوج طرح  
دست راست بود حکم کردم که بر قول ایلدرم  
بایزید که بر پشته ایستاده بود ترکناز آورد و من  
خود با افواج قول ولشکرهای اویباق روی هبت  
بطرف قیصر آوردم

و در حمله اول شکست بر افواج قیصر  
افتاد و سلطان محمود خان بتعاقب قیصر شتافته و برا  
دست کبر کرده بدرگاه حاضر آورد و توقتش خان را  
نیز بهمین تنوگات شکست دادم و فرمودم که علم  
ویرا نکونسار گردانیدند

واگر غنیم قزاقی \* کرده افواج چپاول  
و شقاوول و برانغار و جرانغار را بر هم زند و خود را بفوج  
قول رساند سلطان را واجب است که پای شجاعت  
در رکاب صبر مستحکم گردانیده متوجه دفع و رفع  
غنیم شود

و چنانچه من در جنگ شاه منصور کردم  
که خود را بهن رسانید بذات خود رو برو شدم تا  
آنکه بر خاک هلاک افتاد

ترتیب آراستن چهل فوج از لشکر دوازده  
اویباقی که به تبغا رسیده اند

AND I issued directions to the Ameer Zau-  
deh Aboo Bukkur, who led the reserve of the right, to  
advance upon the Koul of Yeldurruum Banezeed, † who  
was posted on an eminence: and lastly I myself, with the  
forces of the Koul and the Ouyemauk, turned the face of  
resolution toward mine enemy.

THE armies of Keefur were defeated, and  
put to flight at the first onset. And Sooltaun Muhmood  
pursued the vanquished Keefur; and he made him my  
prisoner, and he brought him to the royal tent. By this  
disposition also I conquered Tonktummish Khaun, and  
caused his standard to be inverted.

IF the enemy should become formidable,  
and throw into disorder the Chuppauwul, and the Shuck-  
auwul, and the Burraunghaur, and the Jurraunghaur, and  
should advance to charge the Koul; it is then the duty  
of the emperor to conduct himself with courage and with  
fortitude, and to proceed to repel and disperse the foe.

THUS I acted in the engagement with  
Shaah Munsoor, who penetrated even to the Koul of my  
army. I opposed him in my own person, face to face,  
until he fell lifeless on the plain.

THE PLAN OF THE ARRANGEMENT  
OF FORTY SQUADRONS, FORMED FROM THE TWELVE  
OUYEMAUK WHO HAD OBTAINED THE TUMGHAU.

† Bajazet.

قراول دست راست      قراول دست چپ

هراول

فوج اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم ششم

هراول چپاول      هراول شقاوول

چپاول      شقاوول

اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم [ششم]      اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم [ششم]

هراول برانغار      هراول جرانغار

برانغار      جرانغار

اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم [ششم]      اول دویم سیوم چهارم پنجم [ششم]

فوج امیرزاده ها      فوج خویشاوندان

قول

بیست و هشت اویات که بتبغا

نرسیده اند

تم

F I N I S.

# I N D E X

## O F

### P E R S O N S   A N D   P L A C E S .

N.B. *m.* signifies *mentioned*.

**A** ALI, first successor of Mahumud, 193. one of the orthodox Khalifs, 31, N. commander of the faithful, 183. son of Abou Taulib, 359. the districts of Bukhf and Jilleh, assigned for supporting his shrine, *ibid*.

**AALI**, son of Moosi Jaufir, 185.

**BEG CHOON GHOORBAUNI** takes Timour prisoner, 37. is ashamed of his conduct, *ibid*. commands Timour's arms to be delivered to him, and dismisses him with marks of disrespect, *ibid*.

**BEN LUCKTI**, minister of Hauroon ul Rusheed, dissuaded from resigning his office, 263.

**DURVAISH**, of the tribe of Toughauee, made Ameer, 313.

**YEZZUDI**, his relation differs from Timour's, 23, N. his history inferior to that of Timour, written by himself, 27, N. 123, N. ignorant of the plot between Timour and the standard-bearer of Touktumish Khaun, *ibid*.

**AAZEEZ U DEEN**, one of Timour's

Vizzeers, assists Timour in extricating himself from prison, 267.

**ABDULLAH**, a servant of Timour, who accompanied him in reconnoitring the castle of Kurthee, 99.

**ABOO (or ABAU) BUKKUR**. See **AMEER ZAUEH**.

**TAUHIR** heads the sect of Kuraumuteh, 185. seizes the city of Mecca, *ibid*. martyrs 30,000 pilgrims on mount Auruffaut, *ibid*. takes away the black stone from the temple of Mecca, *ibid*. is totally defeated by Mocktaudir Billau, *ibid*.

**ABU'L MUNSOOR TIMOUR**, or **TAMERLANE**, descended in a right line from Kaujooli Bahaudur, son of Toumunch Khaun, 25, N. of the same lineage with Chungaze Khaun (Ghengis Can), *ibid*. begins his enterprises at 12 years of age, 163. Upon Tughulluk Timour Khaun's first invasion of Mauwur u Nuhur, is doubtful whether he shall flee into Khorausaun, or submit to Tughulluk Timour, 17. asks counsel of his

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PRER, is advised to submit, *ibid.* goes to the Ameers of Jitteh, and diverts them by presents from ravaging Mauwur u Nuhur, 19, 21. departs from the Ameers, and goes to Tughulluk Timour, 21. Tughulluk restores to him the Toumaun of Ameer Kurrauchaur Nooyaun, and appoints him governor of Mauwur u Nuhur, 23. he loses the government of Mauwur u Nuhur, and accepts the post of counsellor and general to Ouleaus Khaujeh, 25. is accused of rebellion, 27. ordered to be put to death by Tughulluk Timour, *ibid.* the order falls into his hands, *ibid.* he gathers together the youth of the tribe of Burlaus for his defence, 29. resolves to oppose the Ouzbuds, *ib.* the people of Mauwur u Nuhur unite themselves with him, *ibid.* is nominated to the empire by the people of Mauwur u Nuhur, 31. is desirous of attacking the Ouzbuds, *ibid.* the worthless reveal his intention, *ibid.* he deliberates concerning attacking the Ouzbuds in Summurkund, *ibid.* fears the people of Mauwur u Nuhur will shrink back from their engagements, 33. quits Summurkund, and retires to the neighbouring hills, *ibid.* waits seven days, expecting to be joined by the people of Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.* no one joining him, he proceeds to Buddukhsaun, *ibid.* goes to Ameer Goolaul, who directs him to proceed towards Khauruzm, *ibid.* promises Ameer Goolaul the revenue of Summurkund for one year, if he defeats the Ouzbuds, *ibid.* is attacked by Tukkul Bahaudur with 1000 horse-men, whom he opposes with 60 warriors, 35. slays 950 of them, with the loss of 50 of his own, *ibid.* is called a wonderful man by Ouleaus Khaujeh and the Ameers of Jitteh, *ibid.* his fortune reduced very low, *ibid.* wanders in the desert of Khauruzm, with his wife behind him on horse-back, *ib.* & 37. of his ten asso-

ciates, three (natives of Khorasfaun) desert him, *ibid.* is taken prisoner by Aali Beg Choun Ghoorbauni, and confined in a dungeon 62 days, *ibid.* wrests a sword from one of the guards, and forces his way into the presence of Aali Beg, *ibid.* is dismissed by Aali Beg with marks of disrespect, *ibid.* proceeds to the desert of Khauruzm, 39. is joined by twelve horse-men, *ibid.* is attacked by the Toorkummauns, *ibid.* and recognized by Haujee Mahummud, one of the Toorkummauns, who joins him, *ibid.* his troops increase to 60 horse-men, *ibid.* journeys towards Khorasfaun, 41. is joined in the way by Mubauruk Shaah Sunjuri, governor of Maukhaun, with 100 soldiers, and by many others, *ibid.* disperses his people in the environs of Bokhaura, and advances towards Summurkund, 43. is joined in the way by Tumookeh Kouchein with 15 horse-men, whom he sends to Mubauruk Shaah, *ibid.* enters Summurkund by night, *ibid.* and passes 48 days undiscovered in the house of his sister Kuttalugh Turkaun Aughau, *ibid.* narrowly escapes being discovered, *ibid.* flees from Summurkund by night with 50 horse-men, and proceeds towards Khauruzm, *ibid.* encamps at Atcheghi, 45. his family, and several others, join him, *ibid.* his army increases to near 1000 horse-men, *ibid.* departs thence, and subdues the countries of Baukhtur Zemeen and Kundahaur, *ibid.* arrives at the river Hiremun and sojourns there, *ibid.* is joined by near 1000 horse-men, and Kurrumseer submits to his authority, *ibid.* determines to invade the kingdom of Seistaun, 47. receives rich presents from the governor of Seistaun, and joins him against his enemies, *ibid.* is attacked by the soldiers and people of Seistaun, *ibid.* wounded in his arm and foot by an arrow, *ibid.* obtains the victory, *ibid.* sojourns in Kurrumseer till

till his wounds are healed, 49. departs from Kurrumseer with 40 horse-men, and proceeds towards the mountains of Bullukh, *ibid.* is joined by Suddeuk Burlaus with 15 horse-men, *ibid.* also by Kurraunchee Bahaudur with 100 horse-men, 51. encamps in the valley of Arfuff, *ibid.* is joined by 70 warriors, 53. collects his people together, and makes a feast, 55. his forces increase to 313 horse-men, *ib.* determines to reduce the castle of Aulaujou, *ibid.* is joined by 300 men of the tribe of Doulaun Jauwun, who desert from the castle, 57. arrives at the defile of Souf, *ibid.* is joined by Umlis with 200 horse-men, *ibid.* receives intelligence of the army of Jitteh, 59. marches to the streights of Guz, *ibid.* encamps in the plain of Ilchee Booghau, *ibid.* receives intelligence that several Ameeris of Jitteh are coming to join him with 1000 horse-men, 61. encamps on the banks of the river, opposite the army of Jitteh, *ibid.* forms his troops in order of battle, 63. engages the forces of Jitteh, and drives back the squadrons of Ameer Aboo Saeed, *ibid.* opposes Hydur Andookhodee and Munguli Booghau face to face, and defeats them and the whole army of Jitteh, *ibid.* crosses the Jihoon at Turmuz, 65. is attacked by surprise by the army of Ouleaus Khaujeh, *ibid.* defends himself in a peninsula, 67. encamps opposite the Jetes for the space of a month, *ibid.* sends forces to pursue the Jetes, *ibid.* encamps at Khullum, *ibid.* arrives at Kunduz, and is joined by the people of Yeurlaice, 69. marches to Taulkhaun, and is joined by many of the soldiers of Buddukhsaun, *ibid.* arrives in the kingdom of Khuttulaun, *ibid.* sojourns in the Dufht of Koulauk, 71. receives intelligence that the Jetes, consisting of 20,000 horse-men, are encamped at the bridge of Sungheen, *ibid.* receives an ambas-

sador from the Jetes, shews him his army twice and dismisses him, *ibid.* receives intelligence that 6000 horse-men are coming upon him, 73. his army seized with a panic, *ibid.* attacks the advanced guard of the Jetes, and drives them back to the bridge of Sungheen, 77. stations 2000 men at the bridge opposite the Jetes, *ibid.* swims over the river with 5000 men, 79. and encamps on a hill above the enemy, *ibid.* the Jetes pretend a flight, he penetrates their design, *ibid.* is attacked by them, 81. defeats Ouleaus Khaujeh, and drives him beyond the Sihoon, 83. returns in triumph to 1363 Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.*

He meditates how he may attain the sovereign power, 85. admits Ameer Hoossein partner of his fortune, *ibid.* is always opposed by him, *ibid.* make him swear friendship, *ibid.* gains over to his interest Sheikh Mahummud with seven Kuls, *ibid.* gives to each Ameer of those Kuls the command of a province, *ibid.* confers a province on Share Behraum, 87. gains over several Ameeris by his kindness to Ameer Hoossein, *ibid.* several of his Ameeris consider themselves as his equals, *ibid.* he determines to reduce them all to subjection, 89. gains over to his interest Ameer Haujee Burlaus, *ibid.* wins Ameer Bauezzed Jullaur to his interest by kindness, 91. takes possession of the lands of Sheikh Mahummud, deceased, 89. opposes Ameer Hoossein to Ameer Ilchee Booghau Suldoze, 91. gains over Mahummud Khaujeh Erudee by giving him a province, *ibid.* sows division amongst the princes of Buddukhsaun, and gains them severally to his interest, *ibid.* assists Ki Khissero against Aljauitoo Burdi, *ibid.* reconciles them together, and sends them against Ameer Khizzur Yessoor, 93.

- 1365     INVITED by Ameer Hoofsein to a conference at the pass of Chuck-chuck, 101. secretes a number of warriors about the pass, for fear of treachery, *ibid.* is informed of Hoofsein's perfidy by Share Behraum, 103. defeats the army sent by Hoofsein to circumvent him, and marches to Kurfhee, *ibid.* upbraids Hoofsein with his treachery, 105. loses the castle of Kurfhee, 93. crosses the Jihoon under pretence of going to Khorau-faun, 95. meets a Kauruvvaun going to Kurfhee, *ibid.* sends a spy with them to discover the situation of the enemy, *ibid.* tarries on the banks of the Jihoon till the spy returns, 97. re-crosses the river with 243 warriors, and arrives at Sharekund by forced marches, *ibid.* halts at the distance of 3 miles from Kurfhee, *ibid.* commands scaling ladders to be prepared, and goes by night, accompanied by 2 persons only, to reconnoitre the castle, 99. discovers the guards asleep. *ibid.* brings up his warriors, and takes possession of the castle, *ibid.* He marches towards Bullukh, and encamps on the frontiers, 109. Ameer Hoofsein comes forth to fight with him, *ibid.* he defeats him and besieges him in the castle, *ibid.* takes the castle. *ibid.* Hoofsein slain, *ibid.*
- 1369     Receives an ambassador from Auroos Khaun, 115. attacks Auroos Khaun and puts him to flight, 117.
- 1375     Pretends to return from Bullukh to Summurkund, 111. turns back, and takes Mullik Gheaus u deen in Hurraut, 113. subdues the whole country of Khorau-faun, *ibid.*
- 1380     Receives the submission of Aali, governor of Mauzinduraun, 117.
- 1381     Summons the rulers of Seistaun, Kundahaur, and of the Afghauns, to submit to him, 115. is obeyed, *ibid.*
- 1387     Sends armies against the countries of Kilaun and Jurjaun, 119. conquers the city of Isfahaun, and stations 3000 men there, *ibid.* commands a general slaughter to be made of the people of Isfahaun for their rebellion and cruelty, *ibid.* Pursues Touktummish Khaun 5 months in the Dushit of Kipchawk, 121. his army reduced to great straits for want of provision, *ibid.* is opposed by Touktummish Khaun with a very numerous army, 123. his Ameers disheartened, *ib.* he plots secretly with the standard-bearer of Touktummish, *ibid.* his Ameers take courage from the intrepidity of his sons and grandsons, 125. appoints the prince Aboo Bukkur, with 8000 men, the advanced guard, *ibid.* commands his troops in the heat of battle to pitch their tents and prepare victuals, *ibid.* obtains the victory through his intrigue with the standard-bearer of Touktummish, *ib.* Marches into Erauk a second time, and collects an army of 80,000 men, 121. is attacked in person by Shaah Munsoor, *ibid.* sends an ambassador to Sooltaun Ahmud Jullaur, to inform himself of his abilities, 125. receives his account, 127. arrives suddenly at Bughdaud, and conquers it, *ib.* Marches a second time into the Dushit of Kipchawk, and, having conquered the countries of the 5th and 6th climates, returns victorious to Summurkund, 129. Demands counsel of his sons and Ameers concerning the reduction of Hindostaun, *ibid.* seeks an omen in the Koraun, 133. pitches his tents towards Hindostaun, *ibid.* commands the prince Peer Mahummud Jehaungheer, with 30,000 horse-men, to subdue Mpooltaun, *ibid.* orders Sooltaun Muhmood Khaun, &c. with 30,000 men, to go against Lauhore, 135. he himself, with 32,000 horse-men, forms the main body, *ib.* his whole army consists of 92,000 horse-men, *ibid.* proceeds to Hindostaun, *ibid.* is informed that the Oughans infest the road to Hindostaun, and plunder therein, *ibid.* is requested by Mullik Mahummud to revenge

# PERSONS AND PLACES.

- revenge the murder of his brother Luthkur Shaah upon Moofi his murderer, 137. seeks to get Mullik into his power by policy, *ibid.* is shot at by an arrow, *ibid.* is opposed by Sooltaun Muhmood, and Mulloo Khaun, with 50,000 men, and 120 elephants in Dehli, 139. pretends fear, in order to draw them out of Dehli, *ibid.* defeats Sooltaun Muhmood, and gains immense spoils, *ibid.* conquers Dehli in the space of one year, and returns to Summurkund, *ib.* receives information of the encroachments of the people of Goorjistaun, 141. summons his armies to join him at Isfahan, *ibid.* arms himself, 143.
- 1399 subdues the castles of Seewaas and Goorjistaun, and divides the spoils amongst his soldiers, *ibid.* punishes the seditious of Azzurbauejaun, *ibid.* subdues Mulluteah and the neighbourhood thereof, *ibid.* subdues Hullah and Humfau, 145. determines on the reduction of Missur and Shaum, *ibid.* is opposed by Keefur, at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoo, with a mighty army, *ibid.* writes a letter to Keefur, 147. reduces the city of Dummishk, 149. receives by his ambassador a letter of defiance from Keefur, *ibid.* marches towards Bughdaud by the way of Moosul, *ibid.* turns back by the way of Tubburaze, and arrives at Bughdaud, 151. subdues the castle and city of Bughdaud, after a siege of 2 months and some days, *ibid.* commands it to be razed to the ground, *ibid.* sojourns some time in the kingdom of Azzurbauejaun, *ibid.* collects his forces together from all quarters to oppose Keefur, 153. departs from Azzurbauejaun to wage war with Keefur, *ibid.* is opposed by Keefur, with 400,000 men, *ibid.* assaults Keefur and takes him prisoner, and obtains a compleat victory, *ibid.* returns triumphant to Summurkund, after a war of 7 years, *ibid.*
- 1400
- 1401
- 1402
- ABULGHAZI KHAUN, 27, N.
- AFGHAUN. See OUGHAUN.
- ALCHGUN BAHAUDUR, brother of Beghchuck, marches against Timour, 65.
- ALJALIR TURKAUN AUGHAU, sister of Ameer Hoossein, and wife of Timour, 35, 43. carried behind him on his horse in the desert of Khauruzm, 35. secured in a house of the Toorkummauns, 39. secreted by Timour in the environs of Bokhaura, 43.
- ALJAVITO (or ALJAUETOO) BURDI, flees to Timour for shelter, 91. is reconciled to Ki Khissero, 93.
- SOOLTAUN, son of Arghoon Khaun, supporter of the Mahummudan faith in the 7th century of the Hij. 189. on the death of his brother, assembles the Suids and Theologians in the imperial Musjid, and asks their consent to his ascending the throne, *ib.* and 193. obtains it, 195. ordains that the names of all the successors of the prophet shall be recited in the Khutbeh, and impressed on the coins of the empire, *ib.*
- ALKUMMI, a man noted for his malevolent and revengeful disposition, 257. raised to the dignity of prime minister by Maatuffim Billau Ubbausi, *ibid.* betrays the Khalif into the hands of Hullaukoo Khaun, *ibid.*
- ALLUGH TUKTIMOUR, one of Tughulluk Timour Khaun's generals, sent to invade Mauwur u Nuhur, 19.
- AMEER UL OMBAU, of Ameer Hoossein, submits to Timour, 111.
- AMEER AALI, ruler of Mauzinduraun, seeks protection from Timour, 117.
- ABOO SAEED, of the tribe of Burlaus, 311. made general of the Jetes, 61. his squadrons defeated by Timour, 63. taking offence at the conduct of Tughulluk Timour Khaun, flees to Timour, and is appointed by him ninth Ameer and governor of a province, 319, 311.
- BAURZZEED, of the tribe of Turkhaun, made seventh Ameer, 311.
- AMEER

- AMEER BAUEZZEED JULLAUIR, ruler of the province of Khujjund, 91. asks counsel of Timour, 15. retires into Khorasfaun, 17. forced to submit to Timour, 91.
- BIAUN SULDOZE, father of Sheikh Mahummud, 85, 89.
- GOOLAUL, a devout man consulted by Timour, 33. advises Timour to go to Khauruzm, *ibid.* is promised the revenue of Sumurkund for one year, if Timour proves victorious, *ibid.*
- HAUJEE BURLAUS, uncle of Timour, 15, N. asks counsel of Timour, *ibid.* the troops of Kush desert Timour and join him, 321. unites himself with Timour, 89.
- HINDOOKEH deserts the army of Jitteh, and joins Timour, 59.
- HOOSSEIN. See HOOSSEIN.
- ILCHER BOOGHAU SULDOZE lays claim to the city of Bullukh, 91. is opposed by Ameer Hoossein through the policy of Timour, *ibid.*
- JAUKEO, of the tribe of Burlaus, 311. one of the chief supporters of Timour's power, 247. alone remains with him after the desertion of the forces of Kush, 323. Ameer Hoossein endeavours in vain to set Timour at variance with him, 247. is made Ameer ul Omrau, 323. and governor of a frontier kingdom, 311. appointed to the government of Bullukh and Hissaur, 323.
- JULLAUL U DEEN deserts the army of Jitteh, and joins Timour, 59.
- KHIZZUR YESSOOREE takes possession of Taushtkund, 93. is reduced low, and flees to Timour, *ibid.*
- KHODADAUD, of the tribe of Burlaus, made Ameer ul Omrau and governor of Buddukhshaun, 309. his advice to Timour, 327.
- KURGUN, or Cazagan, grandfather of Ameer Hoossein, 67, 85, 327.
- KURRAUCHAUR NO OYAUN, fifth ancestor of Timour, and Vizeer of Chughtauee Khaun (son of Chungaze Khaun) 23, N. Toumaun of, restored to Timour by Tughulluk Timour Khaun, *ibid.*
- AMEER MOOSI, stationed at the bridge of Sungheen opposite Ouleaus Khaujeh, 77. and in Kurthee against Timour, 93. surrounds Timour therein with twelve thousand horsemen, 9. is defeated, *ibid.*
- MUVIUD AURLAUT, stationed at the bridge of Sungheen opposite Ouleaus Khaujeh, 77. made Ameer ul Omrau, 313.
- SAUHIBA KURRAUN, *Lord of the fortunate Conjunction.* Timour so called, 181, 183, 195, 197.
- SAUR BOOGHAU, of the tribe of Kipchak, made Ameer, 313.
- SIFE U DEEN joins Timour, 53. is honourably received by him, 55.
- SHEIKH MAHUMMUD, son of Biaun Suldoze, joins Timour, 85. destroyed by drinking wine, 89.
- SOOLAMAUN BURLAUS deserts the army of Jitteh, and joins Timour, 59. one of the commanders of the left wing in Timour's engagement with Keesur, 405. *m.* 73.
- TIMOUR, TAMERLANE so called, 31, 39, 53, 57, 97, 111.
- UBBAUS, one of Timour's most faithful chiefs, 247. put to death by him unjustly, *ibid.*
- ZAÚDEH ABOO BUKKUR, grandson of Timour, appointed commander of the advanced guard, in the engagement with Touktummish Khaun, 125. leads the reserve of the right wing in Timour's engagement with Keesur, 407.
- MEERAUN SHAAH, commander of the right wing of Timour's forces in his engagement with Keesur, 405.
- SOOLTAUN MUHMOOD KHAUN, nominal emperor of Chughtauee, sent by Timour to attack Lahore, with 30,000 horse-men, 135. one of the commanders of the left wing in Timour's engagement with Keesur, 405.
- AMUVEAH (or AMU) the Jihoon, so called from

- from the city situate near it. Lat. about 39°. Long. 62°. 10'. E. from London.* Timour crosses it, 95.
- ANDIJAUN**, a city of Toorkistaun, *Lat. about 42°. 10'. Long. 69°. 0'. E. from Lond.* the government of, given by Timour to Munguli Booghau, 319.
- ANDURAUB**, a city of the province of Bullukh, *situate at the foot of the mountains which divide the dominions of the Great Mogul and Persia from Great Bukharia; Lat. 36°. 20'. L. 69°. 0'. E. from Lond.* Timour encamps there, 25.
- ANGOOREAH**, a city of Anatolia on the river Melus, 150 miles E. of Constantinople (remarkable for the victories of Pompey and Timour over Mithridates and Bajazet). *Lat. about 39°. 50'. Long. about 33°. 0'. E. from London.* Timour marches by the way of, to attack Bajazet, 153.
- ARABIA**, cities of, m. 217.
- ARGHOON KHAUN**, father of Ghauzaun Khaun, 187.
- ARHUNG**, [supposed to be the same as Arhungserai] a city of Tookhuristaun on the river Jihoon, *Lat. 37°. Long. 66°. from London.* Country of, seized by Ki Khisero and Aljaunitoo Burdi, 91.
- ARKUNUT**, tribe, Haujee Beg of, 19.
- ARSUFF**, valley of, Timour encamps there, 51.
- ATCHEGHI**, a hilly country, lying near the Jihoon. Timour encamps there, 45.
- AULAUJOU**, castle of, reduced by Timour, 57.
- AURGHOUN**, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Tauskhaujeh of, made eighth Ameer, 311. twenty persons of, promoted, *ibid.*
- AURLAUT**, tribe of, receive Tumghau, 309. Ameer Muviud of, made Ameer ul Omrau, 313. Sullauchee Bahaudur of, made Ameer, *ibid.*
- AUROOS KHAUN** sends an ambassador to Timour after the defeat of Touktummish Khaun, 115. is attacked unprepared, and vanquished by Timour, 117. m. 283.
- AURUFFAUT**, mount of, 30,000 pilgrims martyred there, 185.
- AZZUD U DOWLA DELUMI** supporter of the Mahummudan faith in the 4th century of the Hij. 185. deposes Muttei Laumrilla Ubbausi from the Khillaufut, and places Taulaa Billau, his son, on the throne, 187.
- AZZURBAUEJAUN**, a province of Persia, part of the ancient Media. It is bounded on the N. by the province of Shurwaun, on the S. by the provinces of Erauk a Ajjum and Kurdistaan (the ancient Assyria), on the E. by the province of Kilaun and the Caspian sea, and on the West by Turkomania. Touktummish Khaun leads a mighty army upon it, 127. the seditious of, chastised by Timour, 143. Timour sojourns there, 151. departs thence, 153.
- B.
- BAUBAU AALI SHAAH**, a dervise, his advice to Timour, 89.
- BAUKHTUR ZEMERN**, subdued by Timour, 45, 163.
- BEGCHUCK**, one of the Ameers of Jitteh, appointed by Tughulluk Timour Khaun to ravage Mauwur u Nuhur, 19.
- BEHRAUM JOUBEEN**, general to Hurmuz, with 320,000 Persians engages the Khaukaun, and after a battle of three days and three nights, defeats him, 285. unjustly accused to Hurmuz of having secreted the enemy's treasures, *ibid.* pronounced a traitor, and treated with contempt by Hurmuz, *ibid.* deposes Hurmuz, 287.
- BEHRAUM JULLAUIR** joins Timour, 45.
- BOKHAURA**, the capital of a province of that part of Mauwur u Nuhur now called Bucharria Proper, *situate in about 39°. 0'. of Latitude, Long. 63°. 0'. E. from London.* Environs of, two hundred persons, dispersed in, 43. Aljaiè Turkaun Aughau, secreted there by Timour, *ibid.* m. 45.

BOULAU

- BOULAU** deserts Timour in time of danger, 315.
- BOULAUD BOOGHAU** [supposed to be the same as the preceding] separates from Timour, 69.
- BUDDUKHSHAUN**, a city of the province of Bullukh, situate at the foot of the mountains which separate Hindostaun from Great Tartary, on the N. side of the Jihoon, about 100 miles from its source, and 230 from Bullukh. Lat.  $37^{\circ} 10'$ . Long.  $69^{\circ} 30'$ . E. from Lond. Princes of, prepare for war, 69. soldiers of, join Timour, *ibid.* princes of, submit to his authority, *ibid.* after their treachery to Timour, received by him with kindness, 323. m. 33, 67, 91, 111, 135.
- BUGHDAUD**, the capital of the province of Erauk a Arrub, situate on the Tigris. Lat.  $33^{\circ} 30'$ . Long.  $44^{\circ} 20'$ . E. from London. Conquered by Timour, 127. surrounded by an army under Timour's sons, 151. besieged by Timour himself, and taken after a siege of two months, *ibid.* razed to the ground, *ibid.* m. 125, 149. revenues of, assigned for supporting the sepulchres and shrines of the saints, 359.
- BUKHF** and **JILLEH**, districts of, assigned for supporting the shrine of Imaum Aali, son of Moosi, 359.
- BULLUKH**, the capital of a province of that name, situate towards the borders of Persia, about 50 miles S. of Turmuz on the river Dehasth, Lat.  $37^{\circ} 0'$ . Long.  $64^{\circ} 30'$ . E. from London.
- 
- PROVINCE OF, lies to the S. of Summurkund, and E. of that division of Mauwur u Nuhur, called Proper Bucharia. Its length, according to modern geographers, is about 360 miles, and its breadth about 250. Kingdom of, Timour sojourns there, 49. hunts in the mountains of, 51. taken from Timour by Ameer Hoofsein, 87. claimed by Ameer Ilchee Booghau, 91. given to Ameer Hoofsein by Timour, 107. Timour encamps there, 109. m. 111, 113. given to Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus, 323.
- BURHAUN AGHLAUN**, 289.
- BURLAUS**, tribe of, m. 29, 93. appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. four Ameer ul Omraus selected from it, *ibid.* two Ameers of, promoted, 311. a hundred Mingbaushes appointed therefrom, *ibid.*
- BURLAUS BAHAUDUR** (one of Timour's Euzbaushes) engages Touktummish Khaun, and defeats him, 289. is appointed governor of Hif-faur Shaudumaun, *ibid.*
- BURTUN KHAUN**, 25, N.
- C.
- CHEEN**, kingdom of, its prince called Fughfoor, 131.
- CHUCKCHUCK**, pass of, Timour and Ameer Hoofsein agree to meet there, 101.
- CHUGHTAUER KHAUN**, son of Chungeaze Khaun, 23, N. his conduct towards a minister accused of speculation, 249.
- CHUGHTAUER**, the countries of Transoxiana, &c. which were given to Chughtauere Khaun. The Toumaunaut and Kushoonaut of, become celebrated on account of Timour's exploits, 93.
- CHUNGAZE KHAUN**, (or Ghengis Can) 23, N.
- D.
- DAUOOD**, armour of, Timour cloaths himself in it, 143.
- DAURAU**, name given to the king of Hindostaun, 131.
- DEAUR A BUKKUR**, the capital of a province of the same name, situate on the Tigris, near its source, 212 miles E. of Hullub, and 261 N. of Bughdaud. Lat.  $37^{\circ} 42'$ . Long.  $40^{\circ} 17'$ . E. from London. Bajazet sends his forces against it, 153.
- DEHLI**, the capital of Hindostaun, situated on the river Jumna, 142 miles N. of

# PERSONS AND PLACES. ix

of Agra, and 339 S. of Lauhore, Lat. 28°. 20'. Long. 87°. 20'. E. from Lond. Castle of, fortified by Sooltaun Muhmood, 139. subdued by Timour, *ibid.*

DOULAUN JAUWUN, three hundred men of the tribe of, join Timour, 57.

DOULDER, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. two persons of, made Ameer, 311.

DUMMISHK, the capital of the South part of Shaum, ninety five miles N.E. of Jerusalem, and two hundred and ten S. of Hullub. Lat. 33°. 23'. Long. 36°. 20'. E. from London. Mullik Furruj arrives there, 149. reduced by Timour, *ibid.*

DUMBUND, a city of Daughestaun, on the W. coast of the Caspian Sea. Lat. 42°. 0'. Long. 50°. 0'. E. from London. Timour passes by it in his way to the Dushit of Kipchak, 127. Touktummish Khaun sends a mighty army that way against Azzurbauejaun, *ibid.*

## E.

EERKOO TIMOUR, conquers Auroos Khaun, 283. is promoted by Timour, *ibid.* is accused to Timour of having appropriated to his own use the spoils taken from Auroos Khaun, *ib.* commanded to appear before Timour, 287. the whole of the spoils taken from Auroos Khaun, conferred on him and his soldiers, *ibid.*

ERAUK A AJJUM, or Persian Erauk, the chief province of Persia, lying in the centre of that kingdom, bounded by Kilaun and Azzurbauejaun on the N. Khoozistaun and Fauristaun on the S. by Khorausaun and Kurdistaan on the W. Its capital Isfahaun. Cleared from heretics by Timour, 335. m. 125.

ERAUK A ARRUB, or Babylonian Erauk, comprises the districts which lie on each side of the Tigris, having Deaur a Bukkur on the West, and Koo-

histaun on the East. Its capital Bughdaud, m. 125.

ERAUK, people of, petition Timour on account of the oppressions of the race of Muzuffur, 117.

Timour draws his army into it, 119. attacks it a second time, 121.

ERAUKS, THE TWO, the governors of, petition Timour to punish the infidels of Goorjistaun, 141.

ERAUN, all the country lying between the Jihoon and the Tigris, i. e. Persia and the neighbouring countries. m. 131, 355.

## F.

FAURIS, or Persis, a province of Persia, bounded by Erauk a Ajjum on the N. by Kurmaun on the E. by the Persian Gulf on the S. by Khoozistaun on the W. Its capital Shauraze. m. 141, 355.

FUGHFOOR, a title given to the king of Khuttun, Cheen and Maucheen, 131.

FURRUKH, left governor of Bughdaud by Sooltaun Ahmud Jullaur, 151. drowned in the Tigris, *ibid.*

## G.

GHAUZAUN KHAUN, (son of Arghoon Khaun and grandson of Hullaunkoo Khaun) promoter of the faith in the 6th century of the Hij. 187. converted, with 100,000 Toorks, to the Mahummudan faith by Sheikh Ibraheem Hummuee in the plain of Laur, 189.

GHIZNEIN, 225.

GHIZNI, the capital of a province separated by mountains from the North West parts of Hindostaun, situate near Kundahaur, and lying to the South of Gaur. Lat. 33°. 30'. Long. 66°. 0'. E. from Lond. Emperor of, will not suffer a stone to be removed, which he had placed at the entrance of the plain of Ghiznein, 225.

GOOLAUB, Mahummud Auzaud appointed governor of, 291.

G g g

GOOR-



**GOORJISTAUN**, a province of Asia, bounded by Circassia on the North, by the Caspian Sea on the East, by Armenia on the South, and by Mingrelia on the West. Its capital Teflis. Lat.  $43^{\circ} 30'$ . Long.  $47^{\circ} 24'$ . E. from Lond. Its inhabitants complained of by the governors of the two Eraks, 141. subdued by Timour, 143. m. 155.

**GURKUS**, tribe of, governed by Moosi, 135.

**Guz**, freights of, Timour arrives there, 59.

## H.

**HAUJEE MAHUMMUD**, a Toorkummaun, 39. recollecting Timour, commands the people to desist from attacking him, and joins him himself, *ibid.*

———— **MUHMOOD SHAAH YESSOREE** succeeds to the command of the armies of Jitteb, 21.

**HIND**, king of, called Daurau, 131. m. 355. See HINDOSTAUN.

**HINDOSTAUN**, a large country lying between  $7^{\circ}$ . and  $37^{\circ}$ . Lat. and between  $64^{\circ}$ . and  $93^{\circ}$ . E. Long. from London. Bounded by Ouzbuk Tartary and little Thibet on the North, by Thibet, the kingdom of Asem, Ava and Pegu on the East, the bay of Bengal and the Indian ocean on the South, the Indian ocean and Persia on the West; being about 2043 miles in length from N. to S. and 1412 in breadth from E. to W. Fortified with many ramparts, 129. always governed by the Shaahinshah, or king of Eraun and Tooraun, 131. road of, infested by the Oughauus, 135. cleared by Timour, 137. its chief city, conquered by Timour, 139. the reduction of, m. 353.

**HIREMUN**, river, takes its rise in a range of mountains in Lat. about  $30^{\circ}$ .  $40'$ . Long.  $64^{\circ}$ . O'. from Lond. passing by Seiftaun, a branch of it falls into the lake Zare, 231 miles S. W. of Kun-

dahaur, in Lat.  $33^{\circ}$ . O'. Long.  $60^{\circ}$ . O'. E. of Lond. Timour sojourns near it, 45.

**HISSAUR**, or HISSAUR SHAUDUMAUN, kingdom of, given to Ameer Jaukoo Burlaus, 323. m. 319.

**HOOSSEIN**, (Ameer HOOSSEIN) grandson of Ameer Kurgun, joins Timour in the desarts of Khauruzm, 35. his sister wife to Timour, *ibid.* comes to Timour, 67. his ill conduct occasions the desertion of Timour's officers, 69. wants to establish himself on the throne of Mauwur u Nuhur, 85. always envies and opposes Timour, *ibid.* is forced to swear friendship to him, *ibid.* seeks to overthrow Timour, *ibid.* takes the country of Bullukh and the castle of Shaudumaun from Timour, *ibid.* is opposed in his claims by Ilchee Booghau Suldoze, 91. breaks his oaths with Timour, 93. takes the castle of Kurshce from Timour by fraud, and places a strong garrison in it, *ibid.* sends a Koraun to Timour, swearing friendship upon it, 101. desires to have a personal conference with Timour at the pass of Chuckchuck, *ibid.* slays Share Behraum, 103. his treachery to Timour, *ibid.* receives a letter from Timour, and is confounded, 105. is presented with the country of Bullukh and the castle of Shaudumaun by Timour, 107. seeks to take Mauwur u Nuhur from Timour, *ibid.* fights several times with Timour, and is always defeated, *ibid.* slays Humoochee the brother of Ki Khiffero, ruler of Khuttulaun, *ibid.* comes forth to fight with Timour, 109. is defeated and slain, *ibid.*

———— lost his dominions through the oppressions of a wicked and cruel minister, 203.

———— bribed one of Timour's Vizzeers to raise enmity betwixt Timour and Ameer Jaukoo and Eekoo Timour, 247. his design discovered, *ibid.* his friendship more hurtful to Timour

- Timour than the malice of his greatest enemies, 327.
- HOOSSEIN, the Khalif, 183.
- HUKKEEM SUNNAI, cotemporary with, and preceptor to, Sooltaun Sunjuri, 187.
- HULLAUKOO KHAUN, father of Arghoon Khaun, 187. excited by Alkummi to attack Maatuffim Billau Ubbausi, 257.
- HULLUB, *the present metropolis of Shaum*, Lat. 36°. 12'. Long. 37°. 40'. E. from London. Subdued by Timour, 145. Timour arrives there in his march against Keefur, 149. Keefur sends troops against it, 153.
- HUMOOCHEE, brother of Ki Khissero, slain by Ameer Hoossein, 107.
- HUMS, Keefur sends troops against it, 153. See HUMSAU.
- HUMSAU, *a town of Shaum near Hatma*, Lat. 34°. 30'. Long. 38°. 10'. E. from Lond. Subdued by Timour, 145.
- HURMUZ, son of Noufharevaun, sends Behraum Joubeen, with 320,000 Persians, to oppose the Khaukaun, 285. forgetting the services of Behraum, pronounces him a traitor, and treats him with contempt, *ibid.* is deposed, 287.
- HURRAUT, *a city of Khorausaun*, 171 miles S. E. of Toos, Lat. 34°. 0'. Long. 59°. 20'. E. from Lond. Prince of, Mullik Gheaus u deen, 113. conquered by Timour, *ibid.*
- HYDUR ANDOOKHODEE advances to fight with Timour, and is defeated, 63. taking offence at the conduct of Tughulluk Timour Khaun, flees to Timour, and is appointed by him governor of a province, 319.
- HYSSAUR. See HISSAUR.
- I.
- IMMAUM A AAZUM, his opinion, 191.
- HOOSSEIN, revenues assigned for supporting his sepulchre, 359.
- MAHUMMUD NUKKI, *ibid.*
- MOOSI KAURI, *m. ibid.*
- SHAUFEL, 191.
- ISFAHAUN, *the capital of the province of Erauk a Ajjum and of all Persia in Asia, lying about 223 miles N. of the Persian Gulph, and 321 S. of the Caspian Sea*. Lat. 32°. 40'. Long. 51°. 40'. E. from London. Conquered by Timour, 119. people of, rebel and slay the governor with the whole garrison, *ibid.* all commanded to be put to the sword, *ibid.* appointed a place of rendezvous for Timour's forces, 141.
- JIHON, *the ancient Oxus, a river rising in mount Imaus in the Northern parts of India in Asia*, Lat. 39°. 30'. and running N. W. through Ouzbuk Tartary, divides it from Persia. Forty leagues from its mouth, it divides into two branches; one falling into the Caspian Sea, Lat. 44°. the other into the lake Aral, Lat. 42°. 0'. Long. 59°. 50'. E. from London. Timour halts there some days, 65. crosses it, 67. m. 23, N.
- JILLEH. See BUKHR.
- JITTEH, *a kingdom having Toorkistaun on the E. the river Sihoon on the S. Kipchak on the W. and part of Toorkistaun on the N.* m. 19, 23, &c. &c.
- JOUI, tribe of, abandoned by Touk-tummish Khaun, 125. m. 129.
- JULLAUIR, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. two Ameer of, promoted, 311. twenty people of, promoted, *ibid.*
- JURJAUN, country of, m. 117.
- JUZZAUIR, lands of, assigned for supporting the shrines of Immaum Moosi Kaurim, Immaum Mahummud Nukki, and Soolamaun Fauri, 359.
- K.
- KAUBOOLISTAUN, *the province of Kaubul*, 163.
- KAUBUL, *capital of Kauboolistaun, N. W. of Hindostaun, and about 110 miles E. of Kundahaur*. Lat. about 34°. 30'. Long. 69°. 12'. E. from London. Peer Mahummud Jehaungheer stationed there with 30,000 men, 133.
- G g g 2
- KAUBUL

- KAUBUL SHAAH**, of the line of Chungeze, slain by his Ameers, to ingratiate themselves with Timour, 325.
- KAUJOLI BAHAUDUR**, brother of Kubbul Khaun, eighth ancestor of Timour, and great grandfather of Kurrauchaur Nooyaun, 25, N.
- KEESUR**, or **BAJAZET**, supposed to be descended from a Toorkummaun sailor, 147, N. resolves on a war with Timour, at the instigation of Kurrau Eusoof, 145. comes down with a mighty army, and calls the forces of Millur and Shaum to his aid, *ibid.* receives a letter of advice from Timour, 147. marches to oppose Timour, with 400,000 men, 153. is defeated, and brought prisoner to Timour, A. D. 1402, *ibid.* m. 355, 405, 407.
- KEHULKEH**, cattle of, Timour sends his Kurrauvul against it, 65.
- KHAUJEH AGHLAUN**, of the tribe of Moghool, made Ameer, 311.
- **SHUMS U DEEN**, sepulchre of, Ameer Hoossein swears friendship to Timour there, 85.
- KHAUKAUN, THE**, advances against Hurmuz with 300,000 Toorks, 285. is defeated by Behraum Joubeen, after an engagement of three days and three nights, *ibid.*
- KHAURUZM**, a kingdom situate on the Eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, near the mouth of the Jihoon, having Mauwur u Nuhur on the E. Khorausaun on the S. and great Tartary on the N. it extends from 37°. to 42°. of Lat. and from 52°. to 62°. of Long. from Lond. TIMOUR advised to go thither, 33. Tukkul Bahaudur engages with him there, 35.
- desert of, Timour wanders in it with his associates, and is taken prisoner, 37.
- KHILLAUTEE**, a town of Mauwur u Nuhur lying near the Jihoon. The Ameers of Jitteh encamp there with 20,000 horse-men, 71.
- KHIOOK**, a town of Khorausaun, situate near the Jihoon, W. of Bokhaura. Lat. about 39°. 40'. Long. 62°. 30'. E. from London. Tukkul Bahaudur its governor, 35.
- KHISSURO PURVAZE**, advanced to the throne of Persia, in the place of Hurmuz deposed, 287.
- KHORAUSAUN**, a province of Persia, bounded by the mountains of Bullukh (which separate it from Mauwur u Nuhur) and the province of Kunda-haur on the E. by Seistaun on the S. by the provinces of Erauk a Ajjum and Mauzinduraun on the W. and by the province of Asterabad and the river Jihoon (which separate it from Khauruzm) on the N. Its capital Hurraut. Ameer Haujee Burlaus and Ameer Bauezzeed Jullaair retire thither upon Tughulluk Timour Khaun's first invasion of Mauwur u Nuhur, 17. m. 15, 113, 141, 333.
- KHUJJUND**, a city of Mauwur u Nuhur situate on the river Sihoon, about 7 days journey N. E. of Summurkund. At this place is a famous passage over the river, Lat. 41°. 15'. Long. 67°. 30'. E. from London. Waters of, crossed by Tughulluk Timour Khaun with intention to invade Mauwur u Nuhur, 15. crossed by Ouleaus Khau-jeh in his flight from Timour, 83.
- KHULLUM**, a town of Tookhauristaun, Lat. 36°. 40'. Long. 65°. 50'. E. from London. Timour encamps there, 67.
- KHUTTULAUN**, a province situate between the rivers Vakhsh and Hurraut, and bounded by Tartary, Buddukh-shaun, and the territory of Bullukh. Timour arrives there, 69. seized by Ki Khissero and Aljauitoo Burdi, 91.
- KHUTTUN**, the country of, m. 131, 163.
- KHUZZAUR**, a town of Mauwur u Nuhur situate S. of Kufh, in Lat. 38°. 30'. Long. about 65°. The armies of Tughulluk Timour Khaun arrive there, 19.
- KILAUN**, a province of Persia bounded by the Caspian Sea on the N. by Khorausaun

- saun on the E. by Erauk a Ajjum on the S. and by Azzurbauejaun on the W. m. 141.
- KIPCHAUK**, (called by Europeans Grand Tartary) contains all the country situate between the Lesser, or Crim Tartary and Toorkistaun. Tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Ameer Saur Booghau of, made Ameer, 313.
- Dusht** of, the Ameers of Tughulluk Timour Khaun rebel there, 23. Timour enters it, 129. subdued by Timour, 117.
- KOOCH TIMOUR**, (son of Begchuck) an Ameer of Jitteh, 71.
- KOOTTUB UL AKTAUB**, Timour's Peer, 125. See **PEER**.
- KOULAU**, Dusht of, Timour sojourns there, 71.
- KOWVUNG KHAUN**, of the tribe of Tautaur, made Ameer, 313.
- KUBBUL KHAUN**, (twin-brother of Kaujooli Bahaudur, and son of Toumunch Khaun) great grandfather of Chungaze Khaun, m. 25, N.
- KUNDAHAUR**, Capital of a territory of the same name, situate on the confines of Persia and the dominions of the Great Mogul, 436 miles N. W. of Lauhore, Lat. 33°. 10'. Long. 67°. 10'. E. from London. Subdued by Timour, 45, m. 141.
- KUNDUZ**, a town of Tookhauristaun, situate in Lat. 36°. 36'. Long. 66°. 0'. E. from London. Timour arrives there, 69. and appoints Mahumud Auzaud governor of it for his bravery against the Seah Poshaun, 291.
- KUNNOUJ**, a town and kingdom situate between the two arms of the Ganges, 282 miles E. of Mooltaun. Its Capital Kunnouj is in Lat. 26°. 45'. Long. 80°. 10'. E. from London. Mubauruk Khaun aspires to the sovereignty of, 353.
- KURBULLAU**, a town of Erauk a Arrub on the W. side of the Euphrates. Lat. 32°. 40'. Long. 44°. 10'. E. from London. Lands and villages of assigned to support the sepulchres and shrines of the saints, 359.
- KURMAUN**, a province of Persia situate between Fauris and Seistaun, extending from the frontiers of Erauk a Ajjum to the streights of Hormuz, m. 141.
- KURRAU EUSOOF**, the Toorkummaun, defeated by Timour, 281. stirs up Keefur to make war upon him, 145. Timour demands him of Keefur, 147. he molests the Kauruvvauns going to the sacred cities, 153.
- KURRAUNCHEE BAHAUDUR**, joins Timour with a hundred horse-men, whom he had separated from the armies of Jitteh, 51.
- KURROOT**, house of, Timour delivers Khoraufaun from its princes, 333.
- KURRUMSEER** submits to Timour, 45. Timour sojourns there for two months, 49.
- KURSHEE**, a town of Mauwur u Nuhur, at some distance to the North of the Jihoon. Lat. 38°. 35'. Long. 64°. 0'. E. from London. Taken by fraud from Timour, 93. Timour attacks it with 243 warriors, 7. taken by Timour, *ibid.* and 99. Timour surrounded therein by Ameer Moofi and Mullik Bahaudur, 9.
- KUSH**, a city of Mauwur u Nuhur, a few miles to the E. of Kurshee, and S. of Summurkund. Principality of, m. 45, N. its forces desert Timour, and join Ameer Haujee Burlaus, 321.
- KUSHMEER**, a kingdom situate on the W. side of the Ganges, and on the E. side of the Indus. Part of Timour's troops march that way against Lauhore, 135.
- KUTTEH BUST**, lands of, assigned to support the Shrine of Immaum Aali, son of Moofi, 359.
- KUTTOOR**, a mountain of Buddukhsaun. The Seah Poshaun vanquished near it, 289.

KUT-

**KUTTULUG TURKAUN AUGHAN**, eldest sister of Timour, secretes him in her house forty days, 43.

**KYLANAUT**, *m.* 163. See **KILAUN**.

**KYPCHAUK**. See **KIPCHAUK**.

## L.

**LAUHORE**, capital of the province of Punjab in Hindostaun, 322 miles W. of Dehli. Lat.  $31^{\circ} 53'$ . Long.  $73^{\circ} 30'$ . from London. Part of Timour's forces march against it, 135. territories of, a numerous army drawn together in by Mulloo Khaun, 353.

**LAUR**, a city of Fauris, 372 miles S. of Isfahaun. Lat.  $27^{\circ} 20'$ . Long.  $53^{\circ} 35'$ . E. from London. Plain of, a hundred thousand Toorks converted at once there by Sheikh Ibraheem Hummuee, 189.

**LUSHKUR SHAAH**, brother of Mullik Mahummud, killed by Moosi, 137.

## M.

**MAATUSSIM BILLAU UBBAUSI** makes Alkummi his prime minister, 257. is betrayed by him into the hands of Hullaukoo Khaun, and put to death, *ibid.*

**MAHUMMUD**, the Arabian Law-giver, 9. number of his Attributes ninety two, 135. prayers due to him, and his descendants, 189. a proverb of his, 339.

— posterity of, exalted above other men, 203. pensions and salaries ordained them by Timour, 235.

**MAHUMMUD AUZAUD**, one of Timour's Mingbaushes, vanquishes the Seah Poshaun in the war of Kuttoor, 289. is appointed governor of Kunduz and Goolaub, 291.

— **JEHAUNGHEER**, Timour's eldest son, the subsistence of twelve thousand horse-men allowed him for his support, 241.

**MAHUMMUD KHAUJEH ERUDEE**, of the Hord of Tauemun, having seized the country of Shereghaunaut, opposes Timour, 91. submits to Timour, on his presenting him with another province, *ibid.*

— **MEHDI**, the last of the 12 successors of Mahummud, 193.

**MAUKHAUN**, a city of Khoräusaun, Lat.  $37^{\circ} 30'$ . Long.  $60^{\circ} 0'$ . from Lond. Its governor Mubbauruk Shaah Sunjuri, 41.

**MAUMOUN UL RUSHEED**, supporter of the Mahummudan Faith in the 2d century of the Hij. 185. abrogated seventy two unorthodox tenets, and established the true rites according to the Sunna, *ibid.* took possession of the government by the consent of Aali, the son of Moosi Jaufir, *ibid.* who was appointed by him successor to the Immaumut, *ibid.*

**MAUWUR U NUHUR**, or Tranfoxiana, comprehends in general the whole country situate between the Jihoon and Sihoon. Its capital Summurkund. (N. B. Some modern geographers apply the name of Mauwur u Nuhur to a part of Tranfoxiana, called the province of Summurkund, about 540 miles long from W. to E. and 500 broad from S. to N.) People of, unite themselves with Timour, 29. make a written engagement to support him with their lives and fortunes, *ibid.*

— country of, is oppressed by the Ouzbuds, 27. delivered by Timour, *ibid.* is cleared from the abominations of the Ouzbuds, 87. from discord and anarchy, 93. being delivered from oppression, submits to Timour's government, 107. Timour halted there a few days in his march from Hindostaun to Room and Goorjistaun, 355. *m.* 333.

**MAUZINDURAUN**, a province S. of the Caspian Sea. Governor of, Ameer Aali, seeks protection of Timour, 117. *m.* 118, 141.

MECCA,

- MECCA**, capital of a territory bearing its name, and of all Arabia Felix in Asia, the birth-place of Mahummud. It lies 200 miles S. of Medina. Lat.  $21^{\circ}.30'$ . Long.  $38^{\circ}.50'$ . E. from Lond. Seized by Aboo Tauhir in the third century of the Hij. 185. m. 373.
- MEER SIUD SHURREEF** (one of the most respectable doctors of the eighth century of the Hij.) a letter of his to Timour, 181, 183, &c. m. 195.
- ZEAU U DEEN**, (probably the same as Siud Zeau u deen) a holy man noted for the efficacy of his prayers, 207. prays for Timour's success during his engagement with Touktumish Khaun, *ibid.*
- MEERAUN SHAAH**, Timour's third son, the subsistence of nine thousand horse-men allowed him for his support, 241. See **AMEER ZAUDEH MEERAUN SHAAH**.
- MISSUR** (or Egypt), forces of, called to the aid of Keefur, 145. defeated by Timour, 149. m. 143.
- MOCKTAUDIR BILLAU UBBAUSI**, promoter of the Mahummudan Faith in the third century of the Hij. 185. totally defeats Aboo Tauhir, and his associates, *ibid.*
- MOGHOO**, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Khaujeh Aghlaun of, made Ameer, 311.
- MOOLTAUN**, a city of Hindostaun (capital of a province of the same name) 414 miles W. of Dehli. Lat.  $29^{\circ}.40'$ . Long.  $71^{\circ}.10'$ . E. from London. The prince Peer Mahummud Jehaungheer ordered to go against it, 133. m. 353.
- MOOSI**, the Oughau, head of the tribe of Gurkus, attacks Lushkur Shaah the Oughau, 135. kills him, 137. is slain himself, *ibid.*
- MOOSI JAUFIR**, father of Aali, 185.
- MOOSUL**, a city of Deaur a Bukkur, situate on the W. shore of the Tigris. Lat.  $36^{\circ}.30'$ . Long.  $43^{\circ}.30'$ . E. from Lond. Timour marches by the way of, to invade Azzurbauejaun, 149.
- Moscow**, Timour penetrates as far as, 129, N.
- MUBBAURUK KHAUN** aspires to the sovereignty of Kunnouj, 353.
- MUBBAURUK SHAAH SUNJURI**, governor of Maukhaun, joins Timour with an hundred soldiers, 41. advises him to quit the desert, *ibid.* joins him at Atcheghi, 45.
- MUGHRIB**, kingdom of, m. 163.
- MULLIK BAHAUDUR** and **AMEER MOOSI** sit down in Kurshee with 12,000 horse-men, 7.
- BURKOOK**, 149.
- FURRUJ**, king of Missur and Shaum, departs to Dummishk, 149. is pursued by Timour, *ibid.* defeated, *ibid.*
- GHEAUS U DEEN**, ruler of Khorausaun, is in great fear of Timour, 111. hearing of Timour's departure, remits of his diligence and caution, 113. is surprized and taken by Timour, *ibid.*
- MAHUMMUD**, brother of Lushkur Shaah, solicits Timour to revenge his brother's death, 137. is confined by Timour, *ibid.*
- SHAAH SILJOKER** loses his kingdom, by disgracing a worthy minister, and appointing a worthless man in his place, 255, 257.
- MULLOO KHAUN**, Vizzeer of Sooltaun Muhmood, on Timour's invasion of Hindostaun, gathers together a numerous army in Lauhore, 353. in conjunction with Sooltaun Muhmood, opposes him in Dehli with 50,000 horse-men, and 120 elephants, 139. their troops defeated, *ibid.* he is deprived of his power by Timour, 333.
- MULLUTEAH**, a town of Room, capital of Little Armenia. Lat.  $38^{\circ}.0'$ . Long.  $39^{\circ}.0'$ . from Lond. Subdued by Timour, 145.
- MUNGULI BOOGHAU SULDOZE**, governor of the castle of Aulaujou under Oulcaus Khaujeh, 55. refuses to hearken to Timour's proposals, 57. leaves the castle, and flees from Timour, *ibid.* in the war of Bullukh advances with an army against Timour,

mour, 281. Timour attempts in vain to corrupt him, *ibid.* he charges Timour with undaunted valour, and is defeated, *ibid.* taking offence at the conduct of Tughul. Timour Khaun, he flees to Timour, and is by him appointed governor of a province, 281, 319. signalizes himself in Timour's service, 281. rallies Timour's troops, when thrown into confusion, and decides the victory, *ibid.* is promoted by Timour, *ibid.*

MUTTEI LAUMRILLA UBBAUSI, deposed from the Khillaufut, 187.

MUZUFFUR, race of, accused to Timour of oppression, 117.

OUZBUKS, *probably in this work the same as the Jetes. At present the Ouzbuds, or Uzbecs, possess all the country between the Caspian Sea and the dominions of the Great Mogul.* Are guilty of cruelty and oppression in the kingdom of Mauwur u Nuhur, 27. are attacked by Timour, *ibid.* extirpation of, authorized by the Siuds, 29. extirpated from Mauwur u Nuhur, 87. from Tooraun, 105. garrisons of, in certain castles of Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.* are drawn out by the policy of Timour, and flee, 107. *m.* 333.

## P.

PEER MAHUMMUD JEHAUNGHEER, *son of Mahummud Jehaungheer.* His opinion concerning the conquest of Hindostaun, 129. ordered by Timour to march from Kaubul with 30,000 horse against Mooltaun, 133.

## R.

ROOM, (Anatolia, or Asia Minor) *is terminated on the N. by the Euxine Sea; on the E. by Georgia, Armenia, and Turcomania; on the S. by Shaum and the Levant; and on the W. by the Archipelago, Hellespont, and Propontis.* King of, called Keefur, 131. country of, Timour sends an army to ravage it, 153. entirely conquered by Timour, 355.

ROOMI, Turks, inhabitants of Room, 279.

## S.

SAUN BAHAUDUR, of the tribe of Douldee, made Ameer, 311.

SAUREEK BAHAUDUR, an Ameer of Jitteh, 71.

SAURUNG, brother of Mulloo Khaun, *assumes*

## N.

NIZZAUM UL MOOLLUK, Vizzeer to Mullik Siljokee, 257. unjustly disgraced by him, *ibid.* his failings exceeded by his virtues, 263. is dissuaded from his intention of going on pilgrimage, *ibid.* he delivered Mullik Shaah from the hands of Keefur, 267.

NOUSHAREVAUN, father of Hurmuz, *m.* 285.

## O.

OMUR ABDUL AZEEZ, the supporter of the Mahummudan faith in the first century of the Hij. 183. abolished the profane practice of execrating Aali from the pulpits, 183.

— SHEIKH, second son of Timour, 241. the subsistence of ten thousand horse-men allowed for his support, *ibid.*

OUGHANS, *inhabitants of the mountains S. of Kundahaur.* Certain of, infest the road to Hindostaun, 135. are extirpated by Timour, 137.

OIJ KURRAU BAHAUDUR stationed at the bridge of Sungheen, opposite Ouleaus Khaueh, 77.

- assumes the sovereignty of Mooltaun, 353. dispossessed by Timour, 333.
- SEAH POSHAUN, *inhabitants of the mountains S. of Buddukhsaun*, 289. and N. defeat Burhaun Aghlaun, *ibid.* are vanquished by Mahummud Auzaud, *ibid.*
- SEEWAAUS, *a city of Room*, Lat. 39°. 6'. Long. 38°. 40'. E. from London. Subdued by Timour, 143.
- SEISTAUN, *a province of Persia. Its capital Zurunge is situate in Lat. 32°. 25'. Long. 61°. 0'. E. from London.* Governor of, sends presents to Timour, and requests his protection, 47. joins with his enemies against Timour, *ibid.* is conquered by Timour, *ibid.*
- armies of, ordered to make ready for war, 141.
- SHAAH MUNSOOR opposes Timour face to face, and is slain, 407.
- SHAAHROKH, Timour's fourth son, the subsistence of nine thousand horse-men allowed him, 241. his opinion concerning the war of Hindostaun, 129.
- SHARE BEHRAUM, of the tribe of Jullaur, 311. had separated from Timour to go to Hindostaun, 55. returns to him, *ibid.* attempts to corrupt the governor of the castle of Aulaujou, 57. separates from Timour, 69. returns to him, 87. informs him of the designs of Ameer Hoossein, 103. is slain by Ameer Hoossein, *ib.*—he had deserted Timour and united with his enemies, 171. was pardoned by Timour in consideration of his valour, *ibid.* was made ninth Ameer, 311. fought against Timour with astonishing valour, 279. fled to him for protection, and was honourably received, *ibid.*
- SHARAUZE, *capital of Fauris, about 176 miles S. of Isfahaun. Lat. 29°. 50'. Long. 53°. 10'. E. from London.* Inhabitants of, rebel, 121. are reduced by Timour, *ibid.*
- SHAREKUND, *a town of Mauwur u Nuhur N. of Kurhee. Lat. 38°. 40'. Long. 64°. 0'. E. from London.* Timour halts there, 97.
- SHAREVAUN. See SHURWAUN.
- SHAUDUMAUN, or HISSAUR SHAUDUMAUN, *a town of Saganian. Lat. 38°. Long. about 65°. 0'.* Taken from Timour by Ameer Hoossein, 87. given to Ameer Hoossein by Timour, 107. m. 319.
- SHAUM (or Syria) *a country in Asia bounded on the W. by the Mediterranean, on the N. by mount Armenus, on the E. by the Euphrates, and on the S. by Arabia Petraea. Its capital Dummishk. Forces of, called to the aid of Bajazet*, 145. conquered by Timour, 149. m. 163. Heretics of, punished by Timour, 335.
- SHEIKH ABDUL KAUDIR, lands allowed for supporting his shrine, 359.
- AHMUD JAUMI, contemporary with, and preceptor to, Sooltaun Sunjur, 187.
- IBRAHEEM HUMMUEE converts a hundred thousand Toorks at once in the plain of Laur, 189.
- SHUNGOOM, an Ameer of Jitteh, 71.
- SHURWAUN, *a province of Persia situate on the Caspian Sea. Its capital Shamaki is in Lat. 40°. 50'. Long. 60°. 0'. E. from London.* Touktummish Khaun's army marches by it, to invade Azzurbauejaun, 127. m. 117.
- SHURWAUNAUT, m. 163.
- SIHOON, *or the Jaxartes, bounds Mauwur u Nuhur on the N. m. 23, N.*
- SIND, *or the Indus, rises in the mountains which divide Tartary from India, and passing through Kushmeer and Mooltaun, empties itself in the Indian Sea. Crossed by the armies of Timour, in their way to Mooltaun and Laubore*, 133, 135.
- SIUD HOOSUN advises Timour to quit the desert of Khauruzm, 41. joins him, 45.



SIUD ZEAU U DEEN, 41. See MEER ZEAU U DEEN.

SOOLAMAUN, mountain of, *m.* 133, 247, 248.

FAURSI, a revenue assigned for supporting his Shrine, 359.

SOOLTAUN AHMUD JULLAU, governor of Bughdaud, receives an Ambassador from Timour, 127. treated contemptuously by the Ambassador in a letter to Timour, *ibid.* flees towards Kurbullau, *ibid.* departs from Bughdaud leaving one of his officers to defend it, 151.

GHEAUS U DEEN, *m.* 113, 335. See MULLIK GHEAUS U DEEN.

HOOSSEIN, son of Timour's daughter named Akia Beghi, his opinion concerning the war of Hindostaun, 131.

MAHUMMUD (or MUHMOOD) KHAUN nominal emperor of Chugataee. See AMEER ZAUDAH.

MUHMOOD, emperor of Ghizni, an instance of his determined resolution in enforcing his commands, 225. deposed by his ministers, *ibid.*

MUHMOOD KHAUN, ruler of Dehli, 353. opposes Timour with 50,000 men, 139. is defeated, and flees to the mountains, *ibid.*

SUNJUR, son of Sooltaun Mullik Shaah, promoter of the faith in the fifth century of the Hij. 187. contemporary with, and disciple of, Sheikh Ahmud Jaumi and Hukkeem Sunnai, *ibid.*

SUBZVAUR, *m.* 207.

SUDDEUK BURLAUS, of the race of Yeldurren Kurrauchaur Nooyaun, joins Timour with 15 horse-men, 49.

SULDOZE, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Ilchee Bahaudur of, made Ameer, 311.

Ameers of, swear fidelity to Kaubul Shaah, 325. hearing of Timour's exaltation to the throne break their faith, and put him to

death, *ibid.* execrated for it by Timour, *ibid.*

SULLAUICHEE Bahaudur, of the tribe of Aurlaut, made Ameer, 313.

SUMMURKUND, capital of Mauwur u Nuhur, situate in the valley of Sogd, about 7 days journey N. E. of Bokhaura. Lat. 39°. 40'. Long. about 65°. 0'. E. from London. Timour returns thither after the conquest of Hindostaun, 139. after the defeat of Bajazet, 153. *m.* 31, 323.

SUNGHEEN, bridge of, 71. station of Ouleaus Khanjeh, 77.

## T.

TAUBAUN BAHAUDUR, of the tribe of Douldee, 311. in an engagement with Touktummish Khaun, penetrates to the standard-bearer, and inverts the standard, 289. his enemies seek in vain to obscure his renown, *ibid.* received into favour, and promoted by Timour, *ibid.* made Ameer, 311.

TAULAA BILLAU, son of Mutteilaumrilla Ubbausi, appointed to the Khillaufut, in the room of his father, by Azzud u dowlah, 187.

TAULKHAUN, a town of Tookhauristaun. Lat. 36°. 50'. Long. 67°. E. from London. Timour arrives there, 69.

TAUSH KHAUJEH, of the tribe of Aurghoon, made eighth Ameer, 311.

TAUSHKUND, a town of Toorkistaun. situate near the Sihoon. Lat. 42°. Long. about 63°. E. from London.

TAUTAU, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Kowvung Khaun of, made Ameer, 323.

TIGRIS, river, Furrakh drowned in it, 151.

TIMOUR, or TAMERLANE. See ABUL MUNSOOR TIMOUR.

TIMOUR, river, crossed by Timour, 129.

TIMOUR AGHLAUN, *m.* 315.

TIMOUR.

# PERSONS AND PLACES. xix

**TIMOUR KHAUJEH AGHLEAUN**, with his forces, joins Timour, 45.

**NOUBUKAUN**, second Ameer of Jitteh, 71.

**TOORAUN**, all the countries situate beyond the Jihoon. Timour becomes lord of it, 87. clears it of the Ouzbeks, 105. certain of the seditious of Khorausaun, sent thither, 143.

Saints of, benefactions and gifts granted for their sepulchres and mausoleums, 361, m. 163.

**TOORKISTAUN**, infidels of, almost annihilate the Mahummudan religion by their conquests, 187. a hundred thousand of them converted at one time by Sheikh Ibraheem Hummuee, 189. m. 319.

king of, called Khaunkaun, 131.

**TOOS**, a city of Khorausaun 123 miles S. E. of the Caspian Sea, and 604 S. W. of Bokhaura. The revenues of its environs, assigned for supporting the sepulchre of Immaum Aali, son of Moosi, 259.

**TOUBUK BAHAUDUR** joins Timour, 53.

**TOUGHAVEE**, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Aali Durvaish of, made Ameer, 311.

**TOUK TIMOUR**, of the tribe of Jul-lair, made eighth Ameer, 311.

**TOUKTUMMISH BUDDAU KHAUN**, defeated by Auroos Khaun, 115.

**KHAUN**, 289. his standard inverted by Taubaun Bahaudur, *ibid.* his army defeated by Burlaus Bahaudur, 289. fleeing to Timour, is treated by him with kindness, 327. defeated by Auroos Khaun, 353.

**TOULAUN BOOGHAU**, sent to Timour by the Ameers who deserted from the army of Jitteh, 59.

**TOULKCHRE**, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Aljauitoo Burdi of, made Ameer, 311.

**TOUMUNEH KHAUN**, father of Kubul Khaun and Kaujooli Bahaudur,

and fourth ancestor of Chungaze Khaun, 25, N.

**TUBBURAUZE**, a city of Azzurbaucjaun, 396 miles N. of Isfahaun. Lat. 38°. 25'. Long. 47°. E. from London. Timour marches towards it, 151. turns back by the way of, *ibid.*

**TUBBURISTAUN**, a province of Persia, having the Caspian Sea on the N. Kilaun on the W. Erauk a Ajjum on the S. and Khorausaun on the E. Armies of, ordered to make ready for war, 141.

**TUGHULLUK KHAUJEH**, brother of Khaueh Beg, Ameer of Jitteh, 71.

**KHAUJEH BURLAUS** (probably the same as the preceding) joins Timour, 53. and is received by him with marks of joy and respect, 55.

**SULDOZE**, overpowered by Timour, 75 and 77.

**TIMOUR KHAUN**, of the line of Chungaze, 15. his Ameers rebel in the Dusht of Jitteh, 11. follows the advice of Timour, *ibid.* crosses the Sihoon at Khujjund, 15. determines to reduce Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.* issues mandates of summons to Timour, Ameer Haujee Burlaus and Ameer Bauezzeed Jul-lair, *ibid.* rejoiced at the coming of Timour, 21. follows his counsel, *ibid.* hears that the Ameers of his three Armies had received presents from the inhabitants of Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.* turns them out of their commands, and appoints Haujee Muhmood Shaah Yefflooree to supply their place, *ibid.* disturbed at the rebellion of his chiefs, asks counsel of Timour, 23. returns back to the Dusht of Jitteh, *ibid.* gives Timour the government of Mauwur u Nuhur, *ibid.* restores him the Toumaun of Ameer Kurrauchaur Nooyaun, *ibid.* breaks his engagements with Timour, and brings an army a  
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second time against Mauwur u Nuhur, 25. gives the government of it to Ouleaus Khaujeh his son, *ibid.* and appoints Timour minister and general to Ouleaus Khaujeh, *ibid.*

**TUKKUL BAHAUDUR**, governor of Khiook, falls upon Timour with a thousand men, 35.

**TUMOOKEH BAHAUDUR**, sent over the river at Turmuz with three horse-men to gain intelligence of the Jetes, 59. returns after four days, *ibid.*

**KOUCHERIN** joins Timour with 15 horse-men, 43. is sent by him to Mubbauruk Shaah, *ibid.*

**TURKHAUN**, tribe of, appointed to receive Tumghau, 309. Ameer Bauezzed of, made seventh Ameer, *ibid.* twenty persons of, made Euzbaushes, *ibid.*

**TURMUZ**, a city of Mauwur u Nuhur situate on the Jihoon, about 50 miles N. of Bullukh, being a famous passage over the river. Lat. about 37°. Long. 66°. o'. E. from London. Waters of, crossed by Tumookeh Bahaudur,

59. by Timour, 65. land of, the armies of Jitteh plunder there. 59.

**OLD**, the Ameers who deserted the army of Jitteh arrive there, 59.

## U.

**UBBAUS**, one of the three Orthodox Khalifs, 183.

**UMLIS**, son of Toumun Bahaudur, coming into the neighbourhood of Bullukh to plunder, joins Timour with 200 horse-men, 57.

## Y.

**YELDURRUM BAUEZZEED**, or Bajazet, 149, 407. See **KESUR**.

**YESSOOR**, tribe of, assist Ameer Khizur Yessoor, 93. are pillaged by Ki Khissero and Aljauitoo Burdi, *ib.*

**YEURLDAIER**, people of, join Timour, 69.

# I N D E X

## O F T H E

### P R I N C I P A L M A T T E R S.

**A**CCOMPTANT, one, appointed by Timour to every department of government, to keep a journal of the daily receipts and disbursements, 307.

Alous. See Auloos.

Alms-house, one, ordered by Timour to be built in every city for the poor, 219.

Ameer, a *prince or leader*; a title given to all the nobility of the first rank in the Mogul empire, 15, N.

Ameers, divided into twelve ranks, of which the Ameer ul Omrau is chief. (See Ameer ul Omrau.) The First to be made Second on his signaling himself; the Second, Third; the Third, Fourth; &c. 275, 293. One Toghe allowed to the First, two to the Second, three to the Third, four and the Niccaureh to the Fourth, &c. up to the Ameer ul Omrau. (See 291.) The First to bring with him into the field a hundred and ten horses, the Second a hundred and twenty, &c. 297. revenues of the frontier provinces assigned for their payment, 237. are enjoined, in collecting the revenues, not to exact more than the accustomed dues on any pretence, 239.

are to hold a Jaugheer for three years; and longer, if the inhabitants are satisfied with their conduct, 241. to be degraded from their commands, if they disobey orders in time of action, 245. to be exalted by a title of honour, the standard, the Niccaureh, the appellation of Bahaudur, and other dignities, on their defeating an army, or reducing a kingdom, 283. to be appointed to the vice-gerency of a kingdom for three years, upon their conquering it, 291. if tardy in executing, or disobedient to, commands, to be instantly put to death, 397.

Ameers, Three hundred and thirteen, of wisdom and judgment, selected from Timour's chosen and superior servants, and advanced to exalted dignities, 269. who were as firmly united together, and to Timour, as if one soul had animated them all, 337. never desisted from an undertaking till they had brought it to a conclusion, *ibid.* an *expeller of pre-ferment* appointed to succeed on the death of each, *ibid.* a hundred titled Ounbaushees; a hundred, Euzbaushees; and a hundred, Mingbaushees,

273. Four of these appointed Beglerbegs; and one, Ameer ul Omrau, 271.
- Ameers, Twelve of reputation and renown exalted to high commands by Timour, each commanding a squadron proportionate to his rank, 271. and each being deputy to his next superior, *ibid.* the Twelfth Ameer, a commander of twelve thousand horse, and deputy to the Ameer ul Omrau, 273.
- Ameer ul Omrau, *Chief of the Ameers or Nobles*, 233, N. his office to issue orders to the Ameers, 273. and to superintend the payment of the Mingbaushes, 233. his pay ten times as much as that of the officer subordinate to him, 235. receives it under the inspection of the Deewaunbeghee and Vizzeers, *ibid.* a stipend granted him from the revenues of a frontier province, 237. is not to perform the duty of an Ameer, 273. not to take less than three hundred horses with him into the field, 297. insignia of his office, the Standard, Niccaureh, Toumaun Toghe and Cher Toghe, 291. his place in the Deewaun on the left side of the throne, 329.
- Ameers of Auloofaut, their orders for entering the field, 309. an Eurghes and Birruck granted to each of them, *ibid.*
- of Hurrauwl, their place in the Deewaun, in the front of the throne, 329.
- of Kufhoonaut, what they were to bring into the field and what should be allowed them, 309.
- of Toumaunaut, the same. *ibid.*
- Ameer Zaukeh, a son or grandson of a King or Emperor, 405.
- Amwaul a Ghaubli, the effects of people lost or absconded, 371.
- Arabic, sentences quoted in it, 74, 88, 118, 132, 180, 188.
- Arrub or Ajjum, *Arabian or Persian*, m. 217, 323.
- Artificers, of every sort, of Timour's XI. Class, 215. admitted into his palace and camp, *ibid.* those of the tribes which submitted to him, employed in his service, 217. Architects employed by Timour in raising magnificent buildings, 213.
- Astrologers, of Timour's VIII. Class, 213. essential to the dignity of empire, *ibid.* assist him in ascertaining the benign or malignant aspects of the stars, *ibid.*
- Audience, hall of, the infantry &c. paid there, 237. assignments for the payment of the Ameers and Mingbaushes delivered there, 239.
- Auloos, a tribe or bord. Plural, Auloofaut.
- Auriz, a sort of field-deputy, 375, 377.
- Autaukeh, an embroidered one, a military reward, m. 291.
- Authority, Timour's, so secured by order and regulation that none had power to interpose in his government, 199.

## B.

- Bahaudur, *the brave*, an appellation given to those who signalized themselves in battle, 283, N.
- Baudi and Huvvaui, revenues of, 371. See Huvvaui.
- Bauwulli, a Mogul word, its meaning unknown, 277.
- Begging not allowed by Timour, 349, 361. See Mendicants.
- Beglerbegs, *generals or commanders of the first rank*, m. 271. if tardy in executing, or disobedient to commands, to be instantly put to death, 397.
- Birruck, (Mogul) a little flag, 309.
- Buffoons and vagrants, not to be suffered in city or country, 347.
- Bukdeh, part of the dress of ceremony of the Amers, &c. 297.
- Barraun-

## P R I N C I P A L M A T T E R S. xxiii.

**Burraunghaur**, *the rear line of the right wing*, 389. consists of 3 squadrons in an army of 12,000, *ibid.* of 6 in an army of 40,000, p. 399. when to enter into action, 393, 403. m. 405, 407.

### C.

**Caaba**, the black stone torn from its corner, 185.

**Cavalry**, their accmpts made up half-yearly, 237. paid from the treasury, *ibid.*

**Cher Toghe**, *a sort of standard or spear*, a military distinction granted to the Ameer ul Omrau, 291.

**Chupkunchee**, four divisions of, appointed to scour the country round the camp, 301.

**Chuppauwul**, *the front line of the right wing*, 389. when to enter into action, 393. consists of six squadrons, when the army exceeds 40,000, *ibid.* their order of entering into action, 403. m. 407.

### Classes,

Timour divides his people into XII. 205. and considers them as the 12 months, and as the 12 signs of the Zodiac, predominating over the concerns of his empire, *ibid.*

**Class I.** The descendants of the Prophet, theologians, doctors learned in the law, and holy men, *ibid.*

**II.** Persons of wisdom, deliberation, vigilance, circumspection, and aged men, *ibid.*

**III.** Devout and pious men (supposed to be a selection from the first class), 215, and N.

**IV.** Ameers, chiefs, and commanders of forces, 207.

**V.** Soldiers and subjects, 209.

**VI.** A selected number from amongst the wise and prudent, to whom secrets and the most hidden transactions were entrusted, 211.

**VII.** Vizzeers, secretaries and scribes, *ibid.*

**VIII.** Physicians, surgeons, astrologers, and geometricians, 213.

**IX.** Historians, and men of knowledge, *ibid.*

**X.** Holy and pious men, possessed of wisdom (supposed to be Hermits or Monks), 215, and N.

**XI.** Artificers of all sorts, *ibid.*

**XII.** Travellers, voyagers, merchants, and chiefs of Kaurruvvauns, *ibid.*

**Conduct**, an account of Timour's, left by him as an example to his sons and descendants, for the attaining and preserving of dominion, 158, 159. He promoted the worship of Almighty God, and always supported the Mahummudan faith, 159. ranked his people under different classes (see Classes) 159, 201. always complied with times and occasions, 161. conducted the affairs of his empire with generosity, patience, and policy, *ibid.* so regulated his government by order and discipline, that none of his subjects could aspire beyond their respective degrees, *ibid.* encouraged his officers and soldiers by his liberality, *ibid.* shared with them in all their labours and hardships, *ibid.* on his accession to the throne, abandoned ease and safety, to establish the glory of his name, 163. gained the affections of his people by justice and clemency, *ibid.* by rewards and punishments kept his subjects divided between hope and fear, 165. compassionated the lower ranks of his people, *ibid.* always gave sentence agreeably to the sacred law, *ibid.* received with kindness all who submitted to him, *ibid.* treated with esteem and veneration all persons distinguished for religion or learning, *ibid.* associated with good and learned men, intreated their support, and sought success from their prayers, 167. loved the poor, and neither oppressed nor excluded them his favour, *ibid.* attended not to malevolent insinuations, *ibid.*

*ibid.* made one undertaking the sole object of his attention, until it was brought to a conclusion, *ibid.* dealt not with severity towards any, nor was oppressive in any of his actions, *ibid.* enquired into the laws and regulations of ancient princes, and therefrom selected models for his own imitation, *ibid.* esteemed the great as his brethren, and the poor as his children, 169. made himself acquainted with the dispositions and wishes of the inhabitants and nobles of every country, and appointed over them governors adapted thereto, *ibid.* punished all who were guilty of oppression or cruelty, *ibid.* received all officers, of what tribe, country, or nation soever, with particular respect, 171. always repaid the value of services, *ibid.* and 199. received his enemy with kindness and liberality when he submitted, and pardoned disloyalty in consideration of valour, *ib.* peculiarly distinguished in his prosperity all those with whom he had been connected in the days of distress, 173, 199. shewed clemency to his relations, ever substituting pardon in the place of punishment, *ibid.* and N. dealt with every one according to his opinion of the person's worth, *ib.* conducted himself with caution and policy towards friends and enemies, *ibid.* honourably treated the captive who had behaved with fidelity to his master, *ibid.* and considered the soldier of the foe who deserted in the time of action, as the most detestable of men, 175. so secured his authority by regulations and order, that none had power to interpose in his government, 199. either overlooked, or bore with patience, the faults of those about him, *ibid.* buried in oblivion all past evil actions, *ibid.* never gave way to revenge, 201. ordered that all representations sent to him, all orders issued by him, and every matter debated in council to be inserted in the

narrative of his transactions, 307. expelled from his presence the wicked and seditious, *ibid.* obtained the obedience of his subjects by complacency, mercy and indulgence, *ibid.* commanded that every person who came before him, and attracted his notice, should receive honours proportionate to his rank, *ibid.* regulated his conduct by certain maxims and rules (see Maxims and rules), 221 and 335. those admitted not into his service who had been faithless to his enemies, 319. on his attaining supreme power, he conducted himself in the same manner both to friends and enemies, 323. and received his enemies who had injured and practised deceit upon him with such kindness that they blushed at their own unworthiness, *ibid.* and 325. made compensation to every one whom he had injured or distressed, and balanced his distresses by kindness and gratuities, *ibid.* and 325. considered his friends who had always adhered to him, as the partners of his fortune; and regarded not the riches and wealth he conferred upon them, 325. overcame the refractory by their own devices, 347. confined the base and abject within their proper bounds, 345. gave back the government of every country to its respective prince, and secured his obedience by kindness, 347. protected the inhabitants of every conquered kingdom from injuries, 355. and ordered the spoils taken thence to be re-taken from the spoiler, 357.

Council, general, writers of, appointed to keep a full account of all matters debated there, which were ordered to be inserted in the narrative of Timour's transactions, 307. the malevolent and evil not suffered to enter therein, 167. Timour's Ameer, chiefs, and commanders of forces admitted thereto, 207.

Council,

**Council**, private, persons of wisdom, deliberation, vigilance and circumspection, and aged men admitted thereto, 205. several members thereof, treacherous to Timour, 229. all matters appertaining to the imperial dignity, the appointment of officers, plans of operation &c. communicated to Timour therein, 307. secretary appointed to attend it, *ib.* See Secretary.

**Counsel**, one of the chief supports of empire, 7. used by Timour in all his enterprises, 9, 15. two sorts of, of the tongue, and of the heart, 13. that of the heart alone attended to by Timour, *ibid.* that rejected which caused disunion amongst his soldiers, 15. that only regarded, which was given with firmness and judgment, *ibid.*

**Counsellors**, those only worthy who steadfastly adhere to their determinations, 13.

**Criminals**, pardoned by Timour for their first offence, 219. adequately punished if they offend afterwards, *ibid.* not to be fined and corporally punished at the same time, 251.

D.

**Deedbaun**, *observers*, people appointed to reconnoitre the motions of the enemy, 401.

**Deewaun**, none to appear there in time of peace without the dress of ceremony, 297. the dress of ceremony described, *ibid.*

**Deewaunbeghi**, *president of the council*. 23, N. his place in the Deewaun opposite the throne, 329. his subsistence ten times as much as that of an Ameer, 235. superintends the payment of the Ameer ul Omrau, *ibid.* his office to lay before the emperor the statement of the salaries of the people, and to pay them agreeably thereto, *ibid.* m. 305.

**Dervaisih**, *a hermit or monk*, Timour's grand-children to be reduced to this

state when they rebel, 243. people of this profession, loved by Timour, 167. m. 89.

**Designs**, formed by Timour for the reduction of kingdoms, and for his conduct towards friends and enemies, &c. 3.

I. When Tughulluk Timour Khaun first invaded Mauwur u Nuhur, 19.

II. When Tughulluk invaded Mauwur u Nuhur a second time, 25.

III. When Aali Begh Choun Ghoorbauni had imprisoned him, 35.

IV. When he had escaped from Aali Begh, and was sojourning in the desert of Khauruzm, 39.

V. When he had gathered together an army, and was meditating the invasion of Mauwur u Nuhur, 45.

VI. When Kurrumfeer had submitted to him, and he was collecting an army to subdue Mauwur u Nuhur, 49.

VII. When his army was increased to 313 horse-men, and he was meditating the reduction of Aulaujou, 55.

VIII. When he was opposed by the army of Jitteh, 61.

IX. When he had defeated the army of Jitteh, and was endeavouring to establish his regal power, 65.

X. When he departed to subdue the countries of Buddukhsaun, 67.

XI. When Buddukhsaun had submitted to him, and he was meditating the conquest of Khuttulaun, 69.

XII. When some of his chiefs were dissatisfied, and he was endeavouring to reconcile them, 73.

XIII. When he was opposed by Ouleaus Khaueh at the bridge of Sungheen, 77.

**Designs**, Timour's, for subduing Hurraut, 111. for conquering the countries of Seistaun, Kundahaur, and the land of the Oughauns, 113. for vanquishing Auroos Khaun, 115. for subduing Kilaun, Jurjaun, Mauzinduraun, Azzurbauejaun, Shurwaun, Fauris and Erauk, 117. for reducing Touktummish Khaun, 121. for conquering Bughdaud and Erauk a Arub,



rub, 125. for extirpating Touktum-mish Khaun, 127. for reducing the empire of Hindostaun, 129. for clearing the road to Hindostaun of the Oughans, 135. for vanquishing Sooltaun Muhmood, the ruler of Dehli, and Mulloo Khaun, 137. for reducing the country of Goorjistaun, 141. for conquering Mistrur and Shaum, 145. for subduing the cities of Room, and defeating the armies of Keefur, 149.

Drum, one, allowed to the Euzbaufhee and Ounbaufhee Ameers, as a military distinction, 291.

Dusht, *a large plain, or champain country.*

Duvvauleh Chouk, one horse-man to be brought from each by the Ameer of every Auloos, 309 and N.

## E.

Empire, without religion, likened to a naked man, 175. and to a house without a roof, gates, or defences, *ibid.* the offices in an earthly one, symbols of those in the heavenly, 201. it's concerns necessary to be divided amongst many, lest too much being entrusted to one, he become too powerful, 225. will decay, unless established in morality and religion, 175. it's chief support deliberation, counsel, and provident measures, 7. physicians, surgeons, and geometricians essential to it's dignity, 213.

Eooke (Mogul) supposed to signify a watch-word, 299.

Erzbegee, *a presenter of petitions*, 305, N.

Eufsoof, *Joseph*, chap. of, m. 19. the Koraun opened by Timour at that place, on his seeking an omen, *ibid.*

Euzbaufhee, *commander of a hundred*, 229. the manner of his appointment, *ibid.* has power to appoint an Ounbaufhee, 231. may be appointed by

a Mingbaufhee, *ibid.* his subsistence double that of the Ounbaufhee, 233. receives his subsistence under the inspection of the Mingbaufhee, *ibid.* his duty not to be imposed on the Mingbaufhee, 273. to be appointed Mingbaufhee on his signaling himself, 275. the command of a province to be given him on his conquering an enemy, 289. his accoutrements of war, 295. his dress of ceremony in times of peace, 297. his place in the Deewaun on the left side of the throne, 329. m. 397.

## F.

Friend, useful in all places, 103. a firm, is the enemy of his friend's enemy, and fears not to hazard his life, when necessary, 325. a foolish, is worse than a wise enemy, 327. a true, is not offended at the conduct of his friend, *ibid.* and 325.

Furraufhaun, *people employed to erect tents*, 235. subsistence of, fixed at from 100 to 1000, *ibid.*

Fursung, *a league of about six thousand yards*, 9, N.

## G.

General (or Commander), of Timour's IV. Class, 207. his place in the Deewaun on the right side of the throne, 329. admitted to Timour's private councils, 207. questions concerning the art of war &c. proposed to him by Timour, 209. to be deprived of his command, if found insufficient, 375. his duty, to reconnoitre the enemy, and compare his chiefs with those of the foe, and carefully to examine the enemy's weapons and mode of attack, 377. not to begin the engagement, till first attacked by the enemy, *ibid.* to govern the movements of his forces, and to be cool, firm, and collected within

within himself, 379. to consider himself and his army as a wrestler, who fighteth with every part of his body, *ibid.* the manner in which he ought to attack the enemy, *ibid.* and 381. he must not be rash and precipitate, nor expose himself unnecessarily to danger, 381. his death bringeth disgrace upon the army, *ibid.* A good one numbereth the chiefs of the forces of the enemy, and appointeth proper chiefs in opposition to them, 387. pre-examineth the field of battle and order of the enemy, *ibid.* understandeth the science and discipline of war, and what measures to pursue in attacking the enemy, *ib.* comprehendeth their intentions, and counteracteth their motions and designs, *ibid.* and 269.—of 40,000 horse directions for, 387, 389. his duty to watch continually the motions of the foe, and to chastize those officers, who, without orders, advance on the enemy, 391. not to pursue an enemy, who, without cause, fleeth from the field, *ibid.* Directions for his attacking the enemy, 391, 393. a treacherous, to be put to death, 321.

Geometricians, of Timour's VIII. Class, 213. esteemed by him as essential to the dignity of Empire, *ibid.* assisted him in planning and constructing magnificent buildings, *ib.*

Governors, those not fit to govern, whose authority is inferior to the power of the scourge, 241. their duty to levy fines on the guilty proportionate to their misdemeanours, 349.

Guards stationed at the entrance of roads, to defend the merchants and travellers, 347, 369. accountable for the value of every thing lost therein, *ib.*

## H.

Hermits, (or Monks) supposed to be the holy, pious men of Timour's X.

Class, 215, N. knowledge of a future state acquired from them, *ibid.* delight and satisfaction reaped from their conversation and working of miracles, *ibid.*

Hijrut, or Hijreh, *the Mabummudan Era, commencing A. D. 622, m. 153.*

Historians, of Timour's IX. Class, 213. treated with esteem and veneration by him, 165. his knowledge of history and geography acquired from them, *ibid.*

Hoorrum Surrai, *Seraglio*, a lady of Timour's, receives the donation of 12 years of life from 12 Siuds, 207.

Hospital, Timour orders one for the sick to be built in every town and city, 371. a physician appointed to attend it, *ibid.*

Hunter Dr, his MS. fragment of *the Life of Timour written by himself*, refutes an assertion of Ibn Arabshaah, 25, N.

Hurrauwul, *the advanced Guard*, 77. in an army of 12,000 consists of one squadron, 373. first opposed to the enemy, 391.

Grand, *the Grand Vanguard*, 389. in an army of 40,000 consists of six squadrons, 399. their order of entering into action, 401. supported by the Chuppauwul, 403.

— a Burraunghaur, *the advanced guard of the rear line of the right wing*, 389. consists of one squadron, *ibid.* and 399. when to enter into action, 393, 403.

— a Jurraunghaur, *the advanced guard of the rear line of the right wing*, 389. consists of one squadron, *ibid.* and 399. when to enter into action, 393, 403.

— a Chuppauwul, *the advanced guard of the front line of the right wing*, 389. consists of one squadron, *ibid.* and 399. when to enter into action, 391.

— a Shuckauwul, *the advanced guard of the front line of the left wing*, 389. consists of one squadron, *ibid.*

*ibid.* and 399. when to enter into action, 391.

— a Hurrauwl, *the advanced guard of the advanced guard*, 399. consists of one squadron, *ibid.* begin the action, 401.

Husband-man, The, not possessed of the implements of agriculture, to be furnished therewith, 219. supplies to be granted to the distressed, that he may be enabled to cultivate his ruined lands, 369. superintendants appointed to watch over him and the cultivated lands, 371.

Huft and Bood, *some regulation for collecting certain duties*, 367.

Huvvaui and Baudi, the third Vizzeer in every country to take possession of their revenues, 371. See Saur.

## I.

Immaum, *a priest or prelate*.

Immaumut, *the office of Immaum*. Aali appointed successor to it, 185.

Intelligence, concerning foreign princes and countries, transmitted to Timour by 1000 swift camel-men, 1000 horse-men and 1000 foot-men whom he selected for that purpose, *ibid.* also by travellers, whom he encouraged for the same, 215. and by merchants and chiefs of Kauruvvauns, 217.

— writer of, an officer appointed by Timour in every place, to send him a full account of all things transacted therein, 349, 351. how punished for giving false accounts, 351.

Islaum, religion of, *the same as the Mahummudan*, m. 175, 177, 179, 183, 189, 193, 197. See Religion.

## J.

Jaugheer, *a royal grant of certain lands; or more properly, an assignment of the crown-revenues of a certain district to*

*any one, and revocable at the pleasure of the prince*, 239, N.

Jaugheerdaur, *the holder of a Jaugheer*, 239, N. his conduct inspected by two supervisors, *ibid.* the state of his province to be inspected after three years, *ibid.* to be deprived of it, and his subsistence, for 3 years, if the inhabitants are dissatisfied, 241.

Jaumeh, *an upper coat*, a part of the dress of ceremony of the Ameers, &c. 297.

Judge, one, appointed in every city and town, 177.

— one, established for the army, 177.

— one, for the subjects, *ibid.*

— one, in equity, appointed by Timour, to transmit to him all matters of litigation, 179.

— ecclesiastical, (and the Suddur) ordered to lay before Timour, from time to time, all the ecclesiastical affairs of the empire, 179. and to decide on cases determinable by the sacred law, 253.

— civil, his office to lay before Timour those cases which were not determinable by the sacred law, *ibid.*

Judges, their place in the Deewaun on the right side of the throne, 329.

Jurraunghaur, *the rear line of the left wing*, 389. consists of 3 squadrons in an army of 12,000, *ibid.* of six squadrons in an army of 40,000, p. 399. when to enter into action, 393, 403. reserves of, those related to the imperial family, 405. who when the commander of the Jurraunghaur fails in his duty, must advance to the assault, *ibid.*

Jurreeb, *a certain land-measure*. Restricted lands, divided into first, second and third Jurreeb, when the subject was dissatisfied with the mode of collection, 365.

— the estimation of the produce of the first, second, and third, *ibid.* lands depending on rain, divided into, *ibid.*

Jussauwullaun.

Juffauwullaun, *probably some particular order of soldiers*, m. 235. subsistence of, established at from 1000 to 10,000, *ibid.* were payed yearly together with the infantry &c. in the hall of audience, 237.

K.

Kauruvvauns, m. 95, 97, 153. their departure and arrival, registered by Timour's writers of intelligence, 351.

— Chiefs of, appointed by Timour to travel into different countries, to bring back merchandize, and to inform him of the situation, manners, and customs of the inhabitants, 215, 217.

Kauruvvaunsurai, *buildings for the reception of travellers*, ordered to be built in every road at the distance of a stage from each other, and people appointed to reside there, 369.

Keefur, *title of the Turkish emperors*, 131.

Khaun, *a prince or emperor*, 283.

Khaukaun, *title of the King of Toonkistan*, 131.

Khauneh, *a house*, 309.

Khillaufut, *the office of Khalif*, m. 187.

Khirgauh, *a Tartar tent or hut*, 309.

Khulleefeh, *a successor of Mahummud*, m. 257. the Fourth Khulleefeh, a question proposed to him, 17. his answer, *ibid.* N.B. This Fourth is Aali, who is elsewhere styled first successor of Mahummud. His being called both first and fourth, is occasioned by the different sects of Mahummudans, some holding that Aali was the first, others that Aboo Bukkur, Omur, and Oismaun preceded him. Timour was of this latter sect, who are called Sunnites.

Khutbeh, *a discourse read by the Mullas on fridays in the Mosques, in which the prince then reigning is prayed for*. Aljaitoo Sooltaun orders the names of the successors of Mahummud to be recited therein, 195.

King, A, ought not speedily to degrade the servant whom he hath exalted, nor to neglect those whom he knoweth or remembreth, 317. but if he chance unjustly to disgrace a faithful servant, he ought to confer double honour upon him, *ibid.* his duty to extirpate the authors of tyranny and oppression from every kingdom, 331, 333. ought to establish the true faith, by invading those countries wherein it is neglected, *ibid.* his duty to invade a kingdom divided by factions, and heresies, 335.

— twelve Maxims necessary for every one to adhere to, 221. See Maxims.

Kings, nothing more worthy their valour than conquering kingdoms and empires, and waging holy war with infidels, 141. Timour obtained the Thrones of twenty seven, 163.

Koollauh, *a cap*, part of the dress of ceremony, 297.

Koornish, not to be given to the soldiers who turn their backs in battle, 277.

Kootwaul, one appointed in each quarter of Timour's camp, 301. his office, *ibid.*

Koraun, Timour seeks an omen in it concerning his submitting to Tughulluk Timour Khaun, 19. concerning his attacking the army of the Jetes, 75. concerning his taking the absolute command, 89. concerning his invading Hindostaun, 133, m. 101.

Kotul, a person appointed to succeed on the death or dismissal of an officer, 75.

Koul, *the main body*, 389. when to enter into action, 393, 403. order of the troops near it, 397, 399.

— of Yeldurum Bauezzed, attacked by Aboo Bukkur, 407.

— of Timour, penetrated to by Shaah Munfoor, *ibid.*

Kulkchee, twelve thousand men of the sword, cantoned in and about the palace, 299.

Kulluck-

Kulluckcheaun, *probably some particular order of soldiers*, m. 235. subsistence of, established at from 1000 to 10,000, *ibid.* paid yearly, together with the infantry, &c. in the hall of audience, 237.

Kullung, *a military mark of distinction*, 291.

Kummur, *a belt or girdle*, 291.

Kuraumuteh, *a sect founded by Kura-mut in the third century of the Hij.* They seize the city of Mecca under Abou Tauhir, 185.

Kurrauwl, plur. Kurrauwulaun, *light troops, or scouts*, 65, 401. negligence of, occasions Timour's being surprized by Ouleaus Khaujeh, 65. bring intelligence to him of the army of Ameer Hooossein, 103. are stationed on each side of the Hurrauwl a Hurrauwl, 401.

———— Beghs, *commanders of the Kurrauwulaun*, *ibid.*

Kushoon, *a body of military men something less than the Toumaun*, 29, N. Plur. Kushoons, and Kushoonaut, m. 85, 323.

## M.

Maulaumauni, *imposts, or duties*, 237, and N.

Maxims XII; necessary for every prince to adhere to, 221.

I. To make it evident to all his subjects, that his words and actions are his own, and that none else hath influence therein, *ibid.* to hear the counsel of all, but not to be so far guided thereby, as to make them his equals in the concerns of government, *ibid.*

II. To adhere steadfastly to justice in all his actions, and to employ virtuous and just ministers, *ibid.*

III. To act with such resolution and firmness in his commands, that none may presume to violate them, 223.

IV. To persist invariably in his determinations, till they are brought to a conclusion, *ibid.*

V. To enforce obedience to his commands, whatever be the result, *ibid.*

VI. Not to trust the concerns of government, or his authority, to any one, 225.

VII. To attend to the opinions of his servants, and to select what is good therefrom, 227.

VIII. To be cautious and circumspect in forming his determinations; not suffering himself to be influenced by the information of his officers concerning any one, until the truth be proved, *ibid.*

IX. To so impress the majesty of his dominion on the hearts of his subjects, that none may presume to disobey his commands, *ibid.*

X. To adhere to that which he sayeth; his word being the most valuable of all things, *ibid.*

XI. To consider himself as single and sole governor; not allowing any one to become his associate, 229.

XII. To make himself acquainted with the manners and dispositions of his courtiers and favourites, and to be very cautious in whom he reposes confidence, *ibid.*

Maxims IV. steadfastly adhered to by Timour in his reduction of kingdoms, 335.

I. To enter upon every enterprize with deep deliberation, and mature counsel, *ibid.*

II. To use policy and circumspection in executing his designs, 337. to inform himself of the dispositions and genius of the natives of every country; and to accommodate himself to their prejudices in the appointment of their governors, *ibid.*

III. To gain the affections and attachment of a select part of his Nobility, *ibid.* See Amceers.

IV. Always to act with expedition, except when delay was policy; and with severity or lenity, as occasion required. Never to commit to the sword what might otherwise be effected.

# PRINCIPAL MATTERS. xxxi

- fected. To spend the day in examining the difficulties of conquest with wise and experienced men, and the night in deliberating, and forming the plan for the execution of his resolutions, 339.  
 Mendicants, subsistence allowed them by Timour, 349, 361. to be sold, or expelled his dominions, if, after receiving this subsistence, they continued to ask alms, 361.  
 Meer Toozyuk, *regulators, masters of the ceremonies*, 331, and N.  
 Mingbaushée, *leader of a thousand*, the manner of his appointment, 231. appoints the Euzbaushée, *ib.* his subsistence three times as much as that of the Euzbaushée, 233. receives his pay under the inspection of the Ameér ul Omrau, *ibid.* the interior districts allotted for his subsistence, 237. to be appointed Ameér on his signaling himself, 275. to be appointed lord of a principality on his defeating the forces of his antagonist, 289. his accoutrements of war, 295. his dress of ceremony, 297. his place in the Deewaun, on the left side of the throne, 329. *m.* 273, 397.  
 Minister. See Vizzeer.  
 Miskaul, *an arabic drachm, the 12<sup>th</sup>. part of an ounce*, *m.* 365.  
 Mogul words, distinguished from the Persian by an asterisk in this edition, 3, N.  
 Monastery, one, ordered by Timour to be built in every city, 179.  
 Mosque, one, ordered to be built in every town by Timour, 371.  
 Mozeh, *boots*, part of the dress of ceremony of the Ameers, 291.  
 Musjid (or Mosque) the imperial, the theologians assembled there by Al-jauitoo Sooltaun, 189. *m.* 193.

## N.

Niccaureh, *a kind of kettle-drum*, 283, and N.

Nooyaun, *a prince or descendant of a prince*, 23, N.  
 Nouniaun, *of the same signification as the preceding*, 329.  
 Nuffeer, *a sort of trumpet*, a military distinction allowed to the Mingbaushée Ameér, 291.

## O.

Omens, sought for by Timour previous to all his undertakings, 19. one, drawn from the Koraun, concerning his submission to Tughbulluk Timour Khaun, *ibid.* concerning his attacking the Jetes, 75. concerning his taking the absolute sovereignty, 89. concerning his expedition against Hindostaun, 183.  
 Ouzbaushée, *commander of ten*, 229. the manner of his appointment *ib.* upon the death of a soldier has power to appoint another in his place, 231. may be appointed by the Euzbaushée, *ibid.* his subsistence ten times as much as that of the common soldier, 233. receives it under the inspection of the Euzbaushée, *ibid.* his duty not to be imposed on the Euzbaushée, 273. to be appointed Euzbaushée on his signaling himself, 275. the government of a city to be conferred upon him on his vanquishing an enemy, 289. his accoutrements of war, 295. his dress of ceremony, in time of peace, 297. his place in the Deewaun on the left side of the throne, 329. *m.* 397.  
 Ouyemauk, *a Tartar herd, or tribe*, 309, &c.

## P.

Paishkhauneh, *the tent, or set of tents, of a prince; which on a march are sent forward, and erected against his arrival at every stage*, 385, N.  
 Peer, *a kind of ghostly father*, 5, N. Timour's Peer, his name and character, *ibid.* his letters to Timour; concerning

concerning government, 5. concerning his seeking protection from Tughulluk Timour Khaun, 17. concerning his being appointed by the theologians Supporter of the Mahummudan faith, 197. concerning the proper administration of empire, 201. concerning the prosperity of wicked men and tyrants; their certain destruction; and why the just sometimes suffer calamities, 341, 343. concerning Mullik Gheaus u deen, 113. concerning Timour's invasion of Erauk, 125. Philosophers, treated with esteem and veneration by Timour, 165. Physicians, of Timour's VIII. Class, 213. essential to the dignity of empire, *ibid.* salaries appointed by Timour for those who attended the hospitals, 371. Plan, Timour rejected every one in which the hazard was two-fold, and chose that where the peril was single, 11. always acted on one which was uniform and good, *ibid.* Poor, accommodated by Timour agreeably to their situations, 219. almshouses ordered to be built for them in every town and city, 369.

## R.

Rebellion, punished, in Timour's sons, by imprisonment, 233. in his relations, by confiscation of their estates, *ibid.* in others, sometimes by death; but not hastily inflicted, 245. Region, or Climate, the fifth and sixth conquered by Timour, 129. m. 131. Regulation, Timour's, concerning the division of his people into Classes, 205. concerning those tribes which submitted to him, 217. for the forming his army, 229. the payment of his forces, 231. the distribution of provinces and districts, 237. the maintenance of his children and descendants, 241. the punishments of

his children, grand-children, relations, chiefs and ministers, 243, 245. the payment of his ministers and superior officers, 253, 269. the promoting and rewarding his soldiers, 275. the conferring honours and rewards on his Ameer, soldiers, and subjects, 283. concerning the arms and necessities of soldiers, 293. the honours of the Niccaureh and Standard, 291. concerning the imperial guards, with rules to be observed in the Presence, in times of war and peace, 297. the departments of Vizzeers, 301. the governments of the Ameer of Auloofaut, Kufhoonaut, and Toumaunaut, 307. the behaviour of servants towards their prince, and of the prince towards his servants, 313. concerning his own conduct towards friends and enemies, 323. precedence and admission to the imperial presence, 327. the reduction of kingdoms, 331. the obtaining of intelligence and information of the state of all his dominions and subjects, 349. the conduct to be observed towards the people of every country, 355. the shrines of saints and fathers, and concerning gifts and pious donations, *ibid.* taxes, the cultivation, population, and police of the empire, 361. war, 373. the arrangement of Timour's superior armies, 385. twelve military regulations mentioned, *ibid.*

Religion, adherence to, and encouragement of, the chief support of empire, 159. the basis of all grandeur and power in an empire, 175. Mahummudan, the established religion of Timour's empire, *ibid.* its promulgation and support, Timour's first regulation, 177. Timour proclaimed its Restorer and Supporter by the theologians, and declared to be so appointed by God, 183. a propagator of, sent in every century by the Almighty, *ibid.* the foundation of Timour's power kept firm by it, 197. teachers

# PRINCIPAL MATTERS. xxxiii

teachers of, appointed by Timour in every city, 179. and salaries granted them, 357.

Robbers, wherever found, or by whomsoever detected, to be put to death, 251.

Rujub, the 7th month of the Mahumudan year, 153.

Rules, Twelve; established by Timour for the support of his glory and empire, 159:

I. To promote the worship of God, and to propagate the Mahumudan faith throughout the world, *ibid.*

II. To consider his people as divided into XII. different classes, and to assign them suitable stations, *ibid.*

III. To use counsel, deliberation, and provident measures; and to comply with times and occasions, 161.

IV. To regulate the concerns of his empire by order and discipline, *ibid.*

V. To reward liberally his officers and soldiers, *ibid.*

VI. To gain by justice and equity the affections of his people, *ibid.*

VII. To treat with profound respect men of learning and religion, 165.

VIII. To make one business the sole object of his attention, till accomplished; and to regulate his conduct by the good example and institutions of former princes, 167.

IX. To make himself perfectly acquainted with the circumstances and situations of all his subjects, and to appoint over them governors adapted to their manners and wishes, 169.

X. To receive all who submitted to him with distinction and respect, and to honour them according to their different degrees, stations, and merits, 171.

XI. To treat with distinguished favour his relations, and those whom he had known in the days of his adversity, 173.

XII. To hold in high esteem his soldiers; and to honour those of the enemy who had behaved with bravery

and fidelity to their prince, *ibid.*

S.

Sauhebaun, a sort of upper roof for the tent &c. 295 and N, 297.

Saur and Huvvaee, the Vizzeer of, his office, 297.

Sawurghaul, pl. Sawurghaulaut, a grant from the crown of lands or revenues to be enjoyed for ever by the possessor and his heirs, 305, and N.

School, one, ordered by Timour to be built in every city, 369.

Secretary, confidential, appointed by Timour to minute down all secret transactions and deliberations, 307.

Shuckanwul, the front line of the right wing, 389. consists of 3 squadrons in an army of 12,000, *ibid.* of 6 in an army of 40,000, p. 399. when to enter into action, 393, 403.

Siuds, descendants of Mahumud, of Timour's III. Class, 205. seventy, massacred by the Ouzbuka, 27. prayers of, implored by Timour, 205. their blessings, supplicated by him on his actions, *ibid.* the greatest advantage reaped from their mediation, 207. victories obtained through their prayers, *ibid.* an instance thereof, *ibid.* twelve holy, restore one of Timour's wives to health for 12 years, each giving her a year of his own existence, *ibid.*

Slander, many people lovers of it, 229.

Soldiers, equally regarded as the subjects by Timour, 209. kept in readiness, and their wages advanced to them before they were due, *ibid.* confined to their respective stations, *ibid.* those rewarded who signalized themselves, *ib.* those of the enemy, incorporated with Timour's troops on their submission, 217. descendants of, enrolled amongst the imperial forces, and promoted according to their conduct, 219: ten distinguished, appoint the Ounbaufsee, 229. subsistence

K k k



tence of, fixed at the value of their horses, 233. subsistence of the foot, fixed at from 100 to 1000, *ibid.* a written order for their subsistence to be delivered to each, 235. the foot, paid yearly, and the horse, half-yearly, *ibid.* on their being guilty of oppression, to be delivered into the hands of the oppressed, 251. to be promoted to the rank of Ounbau-shee, on their first signalizing themselves, 275. their firmness and spirit to be considered, *ibid.* Koornish not to be given to those who turn their backs in battle, 277. those to be pardoned, who flee from absolute necessity, or who are struck with a panic, *ibid.* their wounds to be considered as proofs of their valour, and they to be rewarded accordingly, *ibid.* their rights not to be invaded, *ibid.* not to be deprived of their rank and pay, when advanced in years, *ibid.* the aged warriors to be treated with honour, their counsel to be regarded, and themselves to be considered as the ornaments of the empire, 279. their sons to succeed to their dignity and station, *ibid.* those taken in battle, not put to death by Timour, *ibid.* received into his service, if they consented; if not, were set at liberty, *ibid.* those treated by Timour with honour and confidence, who after behaving faithfully to their Prince, left him through necessity, *ibid.* and 317. their habiliments of war, 293, 295, 297. character of the good and faithful, 313, 315, 317, 319. any one quitting his master in time of peace, may be received by another, 319. the glory of him who defeateth his enemy, to be exhibited in a ten-fold light, and himself to be promoted for the encouragement of others, 321. he to be presented as a gift to the foe, who opposeth his master's interest, and leagueth with the

enemy, *ibid.* his duty to bear lightly the shock of the enemy's attack, and to stand firm and patient, 377. to be rewarded with a Kullung, or embroidered Autaukeh, with a horse, sword, and belt, on his distinguishing himself, 291. the insinuations of the envious not to be heard against a valiant one, 321. one of tried magnanimity more valuable than a thousand who want discretion, 7. those prohibited Timour's service, who had been faithless to his enemies, 319. to be received with honour, on their spontaneous return to their master after desertion, 317.

Subordination, neglect of, causeth corruption and violence, 203.

Suddur, or Sedr, his authority, 177, N. appointed by Timour to watch over the conduct of others, to regulate the manners of the times, to appoint superiors in holy offices, and to ordain pensions &c, *ibid.* ordered to lay before Timour all ecclesiastical affairs, 179, 305.

Sunna, *the traditions of Mahummud, which by the orthodox Moslems are considered as a supplement to the Koran, and of equal authority*, 185.

Supervisors, two appointed by Timour to every province on which a royal assignment was granted, 239. their office, *ibid.*

— one appointed by the Suddur to inspect the weights and measures, 177.

Surgeons, of Timour's VII. Class, 213. essential to the dignity of empire, *ibid.*

Surmozeh, *a sort of leathern clog covering the foot of the boot*, a part of the dress of ceremony of the Ameer &c. 297.

Sword, one tenth of the requisites for conducting the affairs of dominion, 7. far inferior to policy, *ibid.* nothing to be committed to it, which can otherwise be effected, 339.

Taxes,

# PRINCIPAL MATTERS. XXXV

## T.

Taxes, the poll and house, not to be levied on any town, 349. old ones, to be continued, if agreeable to the subjects of any reduced kingdom, 363. to be determined according to the fertility and quantity of cultivated lands, *ibid.* equal to  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the produce, if the lands were watered by perpetual springs, *ibid.* value always fixed according to the value of the necessaries of life, *ibid.* equal to half the produce of the land, divided into Jurreebs, 365. equal to  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the lands depending on rain, *ibid.* not to be collected before the gathering in of the grain, 367. may be collected by threats, but not by actual punishment, 241. a gatherer of, not to be appointed, if the subject pay spontaneously, 367.

— on herbs &c. determined according to the ancient practice, 367. to be settled according to the Huft and Bood, when the subjects are dissatisfied, *ibid.* collected at three different times after harvest, *ibid.* not settled till three years after the first cultivation of waste lands, and then determined according to the Regulations, *ibid.*

Theologians, of Timour's I. Class, 205. their place in the Deewaun on the right side of the throne, 329. treated by Timour with esteem and veneration, 165. access to him granted them at all times, *ibid.* questions proposed to them by him concerning things lawful and forbidden, 205. those of the enemy received with reverence, on their submission, 217, 357. pensions, salaries, and subsistence allowed them by Timour, 235, 357. they decree Timour to be the Restorer and Promoter of the Mahumudan faith, 181. selections from the works of former ones, 183, 185, 187, 189, 191, 193, 195. were as-

sembled by Aljauitoo Sooltaun, 189. decreed that prayers were due to the descendants of Mahumud, *ibid.* their decree concerning Aljauitoo Sooltaun, 195. concerning Timour, *ibid.*

Toghe, one, to be allowed to the Mingbaufhee Ameer, 291. See Cher Toghe.

Toork or Tauchek, explained in N, 217. m. 171, 323.

Toorki language (or Mogul) Timour writes in it to Ameer Hoossein, 103.

Toumaun, a military fief capable of sending forth 10,000 fighting men; it also signifies that number of men collected together, 23, N.

Travellers, of Timour's XII. Class, 215. structures built for them in every road, 179. encouraged by Timour to bring intelligence concerning foreign nations, 215.

Tumghau, Soldier's pay, 309, N.

Tyrant, his prosperity not to be ascribed to his merit, 341. the causes of the long duration of his power, *ibid.* dominion rather continued to an infidel than to him, *ibid.* the cause of his increasing prosperity, 343.

## U.

Universe, The, preserved from confusion by the deity's being absolute alone, 89.

## V.

Victory obtained by the divine favour, not by greatness of armies, 7. Timour's ascribed by him to the aid of the Almighty, 7, 35, 39, 127. obtained by the prayers of devout and pious men, 207. foretold to Timour by a voice from heaven, 79. hidden by the curtain of fate, 145.

Vizzeers, of Timours VII. Class, 211. the most respectable and confidential of the servants of royalty, 245. their place.

place in the Deewaun opposite the throne, 329. their subsistence ten times as much as that of the Amceers, 235. their office to lay before the emperor the affairs of his whole government, 211. to keep the treasury rich, *ibid.* to inspect the revenues and expences of government, *ibid.* not to be hastily punished, when accused of treachery, 245. their punishment, when guilty of peculation, 247, 249. are a class of men who have many enemies, 249. are betrayed by those they patronize, and opposed by those they neglect, *ibid.*

Four qualities necessary for Vizzeers,

- I. Firmness and generosity.
- II. Understanding and sagacity,
- III. A capacity of conciliating mens affections.
- IV. Patience under difficulties.

Pre-eminence to be conferred on such ministers by confidence, esteem, discretionary power, and authority, 253, 257. — to be stiled *Lords of the sword and pen*, upon their conquering or preserving a kingdom, 265. to be expelled from their office, if they say evil of others, and endeavour to ruin the good and virtuous, 255. their office not to be conferred on the wicked and revengeful, *ibid.* nor on persons of mean birth, 257.

Vizzeer, a bad, causeth the destruction of his master's power, 223, 259, 267.

—— a wife, he who useth mildness and severity in moderation, 259.

—— a perfect, who never giveth way to revenge, *ibid.*

—— an intelligent and sagacious, who acteth with circumspection and policy, 261.

—— an experienced and active, who attendeth to the population and cultivation of the country, and hazardeth his fortune and life in the service of his master, *ibid.*

—— a virtuous, whose good quali-

ties exceed his failings, 263.

—— a skilful and able, who hath capacity to divide or unite the power of armies, and to sow divisions amongst the enemies of his master, 265. four appointed to attend the imperial Deewaun, subordinate to the Deewaunbeghee, 301, 307.

—— I. of the country and the subject, his office, 303.

—— II. of the armies, his office, *ibid.*

—— III. of the Saur and Huvvaui, his office, *ibid.*

—— IV. of the imperial house-hold, his office, 305.

—— Three, appointed over the frontiers, and the demesnes of the crown, *ibid.* subordinate to the Deewaunbeghee, *ibid.*

—— Three, to be stationed in every country, 371. their offices, &c. *ibid.*

## W.

Wicked and seditious, expelled by Timour from his presence, 201.

Word, nothing so valuable to princes as having a just veneration for it, 227. equal to a family of princes and a rich treasury, *ibid.* maketh numerous subjects and powerful armies, *ibid.*

## Y.

Yettool, a royal grant. See Jaugheer. Yole Bolishun, a Mogul expression, used by Timour to Ouleaus Khaueh, 83.

Yulauwullaun, a sort of guards or messengers, their subsistence established at from 1000, to 10,000, p. 235. paid yearly, together with the infantry &c. in the hall of audience, 237.

—— chief of, stationed at the door of the imperial pavilion, 329.

The Names of the principal Persons and Places mentioned in this Work, according to the different Orthography of Mr. DAVY, and Monf. PETIS DE LA CROIX; accommodated to the Use of those who wish to compare the different Accounts.

LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.	LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.
A.		Candahar	Kundahaur.
Abbas	Ubbaus.	Cannoudge	Kunnouj.
Aboubecre	Aboo Bukkur.	Capchac	Kipjauk.
Akitimur	Eekoo Timour.	Carā	Kurra.
Aleppo	Hullub.	Carezm	Khauruzm.
Ali	Aali.	Carfchi	Kurfhee.
Anatolia	Room.	Caratchar	Kurrauchaur.
Azad	Auzaud.	Catlan	Khuttulaun.
Azerbijane	Azzurbauejaun.	Cazagan	Kurgun.
B.		Cazanchi	Kurraunchee.
Bagdad	Bughdard.	Cayafeddin	Gheaus u deen.
Bajazet	Keefur.	Chahmanfour	Shaah Munfoor.
Balc	Bullukh.	Charoc	Shaarokh.
Barcoc	Burkook.	Cheik	Sheikh.
Bedakchan	Buddukhaun.	Chekidgek	Chuckchuck.
Bei	Begh.	Chir	Share.
Berlas	Burlaus.	Chiras	Sharauze.
Bocara	Bokhaura.	Chirkunt	Sharekund.
C.		Chirouan	Shurwaun.
Cabul	Kaubil.	Cogende	Khojjund.
Cabulchah	Kaubil Shaah.	Coja	Khaueh.
Cachmir	Kushmeer.	Condoz	Kunduz.
Can	Khaun.	Coraffane	Khoraufaun.
		Cotan	Khuttun.
		Cotluc	Kuttulug.
		D.	
		Damascus	Dummaishk.
		Deli	

LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.	LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.
Deli —	Dehli.	Kerbela —	Kurbullau.
Diarbekir —	Deaur a Bukkur.	Ketuer —	Kuttoor.
		Kirman —	Kurmaun.
		Kivac —	Khiook.
E.			
Egypt —	Missur.		M.
Elias —	Ouleaus.		
Emessa —	Hums.	Macan —	Maukhaun.
Emir —	Ameer.	Mahmoud —	Muhmud.
Enderabe —	Anduraub.	Mahomet —	Mahummud.
Erlat —	Aurlaut.	Malatia —	Mulluteah.
		Malek —	Mullik.
F.		Mazenderan —	Mauzinduraun.
		Mellou Can —	Mulloo Khaun.
Fars —	Fauris.	Mir —	Ameer.
		Miranchah —	Meeraun Shaah.
		Mirza —	Ameer Zaudch.
G.		Mobarekchah —	Mubbauruk Shaah.
		Mouffa —	Moofi.
Gehanghir —	Jehaungheer.	Muaid —	Muviud.
Gelair —	Jullaur.		
Georgia —	Goorjistaun.		N.
Gete —	Jitteh.		
Ghengis Can —	Chungauze Khaun.	Nevian —	Nooyaun.
Gihon —	Jihoon.		
			O.
H.		Oladgia Itou —	Aljauitoo.
		Olagai —	Aljaiè.
Hadgi —	Haujee.	Olatchou —	Aulaujou.
Herat —	Hurraut.	Oluc —	Allugh.
Houlacou Can —	Hullaunkoo Khaun.	Oughanian —	Afghaun, and Oughau.
Husseïn —	Hoosseïn.	Ourous Can —	Auroos Khaun.
		Oxus —	Jihoon.
I.			
Irac Agemi —	Erauk a Ajjum.		P.
Irac Arabi —	Erauk a Arrub.		
Ispahan —	Isfahaun.	Poulad —	Boulau.
K.			S.
Kech —	Kush.	Saddic —	Suddeuk.
Kei Cofru —	Ki Khiffero.		Samarcande

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LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.	LA CROIX.	MR. DAVY.
Samarcande	Summurkund.	U.	
Sebasté	Seewaus.		
Sultan	Sooltaun.	Uzbek	Ouzbuk.
Syria	Shaum.		
	T.		V.
Tauris	Tubburaze.	Veli	Aali.
Tekil	Tukkul.		
Termed	Turmuz.		Y.
Timur	Timour.		
Timur Bec	Abu'l Munfoor	Yakou	Jaukoo.
	Timour, and A-	Youfef	Eusoof.
	meer Timour.		
Tocatmich	Touktummish.		
Tocluc	Tughulluk.		Z.
Touchi	Jouji.		
Tranfoxiane	Mauwur u Nuhur.	Zagataie	Chugtauec.



**S P E C I M E N S**  
**O F**  
**C O M P O S I T I O N**  
**I N T H E**  
**P E R S I A N L A N G U A G E .**

**See the P R E F A C E .**







A PRAYER directed by the BRAHMINS to be offered up to the Supreme Being; written originally in the *Sanskrit* Language, and translated by C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Esq; from a Persian Version of *Dara Shikoo*, a Son of *Shah Jehan*, Emperor of Hindostan.

O RUDER, I reverence thee in thy Majesty and in thy Displeasure. I reverence thy Arrows, which convey destruction; and thy bow, thy quiver, and thy arms, which are the givers of victory. Look toward me with that countenance of benignity, mild like the face of the moon, by which thou bestowest joy, and dost away all sins.

O THOU, who art the Lord of mighty mountains, dispel the pains of all mankind; make them joyful and defend them from harm: and grant that I may remain secure under thy guardianship and protection. Thou art the great Physician of Physicians! heal thou my infirmities; disperse my vicious and malevolent inclinations, which lead me into the road of evil.

I REVE-

I REVERENCE thee in the Sun, which is thy Image, whilst it scatters a hundred thousand vivifying rays over the universe; whilst in meridian brightness it diffuses gladness; nor less when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes thy anger. Turn away that anger from me. I reverence him who is the source of joy to living creatures, whose nature is exempt from decay, and knows not the increase of age. — To Him and all that springs from Him I owe reverence and honour.

O RUDER, string thy bow to defend me from all my open or secret enemies. Shoot the arrows of thy quiver to destroy them. When thou hast destroyed my enemies and unstrung thy bow, and taken off the points of thy arrows, and art rejoiced; then grant that I likewise may rejoice. But thy bow is not like other bows, nor thy arrows like other arrows. Thou needest not to string the bow, nor to sharpen the points of arrows. Thou needest not the sword like other swords, to accomplish thy purposes. O thou who canst fulfil desires, whose designs no enemy can baffle, guard and protect me on every side, and drive my enemies far from me.

O RUDER, thy arm is like shining gold. Thou art the Lord of all armies: All causes of things have their origin in thee. Thou art the cause of causes. Thou art space. The verdure of the fields is thine. Thou art Lord of all the beasts, and the birds, and other living creatures. Thou art the Guide. Every light that shines is thy light. Thou enterest into all: thou sustaineest all.

O PUNISHER of those who go astray, O Lord of life, O purest of Beings! terrify not thy creatures, strike them not, destroy them not: nor let even one of them suffer pain from thee. O thou, who givest strength to the feeble, and medicines to the sick; grant me thy support, that I may enjoy health and live.

live. O R U D E R, turn my understanding toward thee, for thou art the Lord of power, I beseech thee to keep all creatures which belong to me, whether man or beast, in quiet and security. Preserve all the inhabitants of this city. Afflict them not with sickness : do thou, R U D E R, give them health, and drive diseases far from them. We all come before thee in supplication. Grant unto us all those blessings, which our fathers asked of thee for us, when they were desirous of bringing us into existence. Old men, and young children, and infants yet unborn, all join in sacrifice and prayer unto thee. O thou, who art ever young and mighty, thou source of joy, be gracious toward me. O thou, who wantest nothing, who art worthy of adoration, I reverence thee. O thou, who employest thy arms for my security, who hast thousands of thousands of weapons ; scatter my enemies, and destroy them : for thou, R U D E R, art supreme in every part of nature. Exert for my protection thy powers, which are over the earth, the air, and the heavens, and under the earth : which shew themselves in the plains, in the vegetation of the trees, in the various species of living creatures, in the waters, and in food provided for the support of life. Thou, who destroyest all which eat the food and drink the waters ; who art amidst the guardians of the highways and in the places of worship ; in all thou art the infinite R U D E R : in every one I implore thee to protect me, and to disarm my enemies. To thee, and all thy other various powers and attributes not here enumerated, I offer reverence. Ten times toward the East, ten times toward the South, ten times toward the West, and ten times toward the North, I bow myself before thy earthly powers, and invoke their aid that I may enjoy health and see the destruction of my enemies. Ten times toward the East, ten times toward the South, ten times toward the West, ten times toward the North, and ten times with my eyes on Heaven above, I bow myself before thy aerial and heavenly powers, whose arrows are the wind and rain : I invoke their aid, that  
I may

I may enjoy health, and see the destruction of my enemies. Every one of these is RUDER; whose infinite power I reverence: RUDER, whose fullness is in all. All that has been, it is He. All that is, it is He. All that shall be, it is He.

*The foregoing Prayer is extracted from the Judger Bede: to which it may be curious to subjoin a Description of RUDER, to whom it is addressed, as contained in another sacred Book, intitled the Atherbun Bede.*

**T**HE Angels having assembled themselves in Heaven before RUDER, made obeisance and asked him, O RUDER, what art thou? RUDER replied, were there any other, I would describe myself by similitude. I always was, I always am, and always shall be. There is no other, so that I can say to you, I am like Him. In this Me is the inward essence, and the exterior substance of all things. I am the primitive cause of all. All things that exist in the East, or West, or North, or South, above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I am King of Kings. My attributes are transcendent. I am truth. I am the spirit of creation; I am the Creator. I am the knowledge of the four BEDES.\* I am Almighty. I am purity. I am the first, and the middle, and the end. I am the light. And for this purpose do I exist, that whosoever knows Me, may know all the angels, and all books, and all their ordinances. And whosoever knows the learning of the Bedes, from thence he will learn the duties of life, he will understand truth, and his actions will be virtuous. And to those who practise virtue, will I give fullness and tranquillity.

RUDER having pronounced these words to the Angels, was absorbed in his own brightness.

\* The sacred Writings of the Hindoos in the *Sanscrit* language.

THE foregoing Specimens I intended to have introduced by an Essay of some extent on the great importance and utility of the Persian Language, and by a Proposal for establishing a Persian Professorship in the University of Oxford. But having since met with a pamphlet of much merit, written some years ago by Governor HASTINGS, directed to the same object, I have thought it unnecessary to prosecute my design.

Whilst I was engaged in writing the intended Essay and Proposal, I received from Mr. DAVY, in answer to my repeated enquiries, the following LETTER: which places the importance of the Persian Language for transacting the Company's affairs in India, in so clear and just a light; is founded throughout on such striking facts; and supported and illustrated with so many judicious observations and remarks; that I conceived it to be highly worthy the attention of the East India Company, and of the Gentlemen in their service. Impressed with this idea, notwithstanding I afterwards relinquished my original design, I determined, if possible, to lay the Letter before the Public: but as it was communicated for my private use only, Mr. DAVY's approbation was necessary for the purpose; which, at my particular solicitation, he has been pleased to grant.



Gloucester, Sept. 24. 1779.

MY GOOD FRIEND,

**I**N compliance with your repeated applications, I have at length taken up my pen, with a determination to reply as fully as possible to all your Enquiries.

“I CANNOT communicate any “important facts of times or places, when and where a want of knowledge of the Persian in the servants of the Company has been attended with particular disadvantage to their affairs *in a political point of view* :” one only, supported by proof, occurs to my memory, of which I shall shortly take notice. Such facts, in their full extent at least, have not lately existed ; because, for some years past, a few gentlemen have been found tolerably well qualified to act as Persian interpreters in the transaction of the Company’s more important concerns with the native Powers. That such facts did formerly exist, is certain ; and that the want of such knowledge now would be attended with still worse effects is as certain. To prove which, I think, you will meet with little difficulty. The same reasons which will establish the authority of the fore-going observations, will moreover be sufficient to prove the positive necessity of a still more extensive and general knowledge of the Persian, than has hitherto been acquired by the gentlemen in India.

W<sup>E</sup>

“ WE are to consider, that the territories now under the dominion of the East India Company, the provinces of *Bengal* and *Babar*, with part of *Orissa*, the coast of *Coromandel*, and the settlements on that of *Malabar*, are together twice as extensive as Great Britain and Ireland. In a word, such is their extent, and such their importance, that it has been deemed necessary to keep on foot an army of fifty thousand disciplined men for their defence and protection : for that is the amount of the forces of the three establishments, *Bengal*, *Madras*, and *Bombay*. These rich and fertile territories, except where embraced by the ocean, are separated and surrounded by native independent Princes and Powers, some of them exceedingly formidable. It follows, that dominions so extensive and so situated, must be secured and protected as much by policy as by arms : a vast political system must be established ; an exact and perfect balance of power must be preserved ; the weak must be supported, the too powerful must be circumscribed and depressed. For these purposes Friendships, Alliances, and Treaties, must be formed with some in opposition to others ; and these Alliances, Treaties, and Friendships, must again be dissolved, and give way to others, as the strength, influence, and resources of the different independent Princes of the Empire may be diminished or increased. Hence the everlasting train of conferences, correspondences, and negotiations, with the native Powers. Hence the necessity of watching their motions, discovering their hidden strength and resources, and diving into their secret councils, connections, and alliances. These are all businesses of the first importance ; they require the strictest integrity, and the most profound secrecy in the negotiators : and finally, these businesses are all to be transacted in, and by the assistance of, the Persian tongue.

“ MR. ORME, a very accurate and able historian, whose long residence in India enabled him to acquire a perfect knowledge



of the subject, gives a very striking instance of the fatal consequences that may ensue from employing native interpreters in our transactions with the princes of Hindostan; and judiciously points out the positive necessity of entrusting the execution of such important concerns to European gentlemen only\*. Nothing indeed can be more absurd or dangerous, than for the government in India to rely on the honour and integrity of natives for the transaction of such weighty, political matters, as I have pointed out; and more especially to confide in that inferior class of them, who are content to bear the yoke of servitude under a foreign power from necessity, or pecuniary motives. Such are all the native servants to Europeans. But that natives of a superior rank are not altogether proof against the influence of gold, I have met with several instances. A very strong evidence of the above assertion I have now in my possession; namely, exact copies of all the Letters wrote by the reigning Mogul, *Sbaab Aulum*, in the years 71, 72, 73, to the several independent Princes of the Empire. These copies were regularly transmitted by one of the King's confidential secretaries, and often came into my possession, before the persons to whom they were sent could receive the originals. By this means the councils, negotiations, and intrigues of the court of Dehli, and of others, the native Powers and Princes of Hindostan, were entirely laid open to our inspection. This happened during the period that I had the honour to fill the post of Persian Secretary to SIR ROBERT BARKER, the then commander in chief of the forces of *Bengal*. The above, I think, is a strong and pointed proof: and it follows, that European gentlemen only can, in prudence and in policy, be entrusted with this important business; and that a partial knowledge of the Persian Language is by no means sufficient to qualify even them to be trusted. To be able simply to converse in the Persian, is a very inade-

\* Vide Hist. of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan. Vol. I. p. 350, &c.

quate degree of knowledge. A Persian interpreter should not only be able to speak fluently in the Language, but to read all such Letters as he may receive; not only to read all such Letters, but to answer them with his own hand, if the importance of the subject, of which they treat, should render it necessary. Otherwise the secret negotiations and correspondence of government are liable to be made public through the medium of the native *Munchees*, or Writers, whom he will be obliged to employ and trust. Some natives he must have, to assist in the ordinary business, from its great multiplicity; but even this, by a proper encouragement of the study of the Language, might be obviated. Junior servants, when qualified, might be appointed to act under their Seniors, and the natives be totally excluded. And such a Plan, I am convinced, would be productive of much advantage.

“ FROM the foregoing hints, I dare say, you will be able to prove, that the study of the Persian, in a political point of view, is highly worthy of encouragement.

“ THE general study of this valuable Language, abstracted from all political views, is a matter of very great importance to the East India Company. How it is possible that their civil servants should be able to do their duty effectually in the various posts and offices to which they are appointed, without any knowledge of it, is difficult to conceive. That by far the greater number of them do perform the businesses allotted to them without a knowledge of any of the country Languages, is certain; but that the manner in which they perform them must be exceedingly defective, every one will be convinced, by reflecting on the nature of the offices which they fill. Servants of all ranks\* are detached from the presidency, and spread

\* By these are meant Writers, Factors, Junior and Senior Merchants, and in the more important departments, often members of the Council: but these last are generally assisted by European Interpreters.

abroad

abroad throughout the provinces and districts of the Company's territories, for the purposes of superintending the cultivation and regulation of the countries, the administration of justice in the *Kucheries*, or native courts of Judicature, and the collection of the Revenues \*. Many also are appointed to the different Factories, to superintend the fabrication and making up of the Investments for the European market.

“ HAVING given this detail of the employments, to which the senior and junior civil servants of the Company are in rotation appointed, I think it will be needless to dwell on the great utility, and indeed absolute necessity of a knowledge of some language or other, understood in the country, to gentlemen so employed †; or to shew how much more effectually they would be able, with such knowledge, to do their duty, than they can now through the medium of their *Surcors*, or native Clerks ‡, to whom, from an ignorance of the language, they are obliged, in a great measure, to delegate their authority, to pay an implicit attention to their advice and opinions, and, what is still worse, from the above deficiency, to receive through them every complaint and grievance of the subject; though the complaints are frequently levelled against those very Agents,

\* It may be necessary to observe, that this arrangement took place but a very few years ago; and therefore the importance of the Persian in the point of view now under consideration, is to be dated from that period only.

† It is true, that in *Bengal*, but in *Bengal* only, an acquaintance with the dialect of that province, might be made to answer the purposes of gentlemen employed as above-mentioned: but as that dialect would be of very little use to them, even in the neighbouring province of *Bahar*, much less in any other part of *Hindustan*; as the *Persian*, on the contrary, is the polite language throughout the Empire; and as it is impossible to acquire a knowledge of that, without forming, at the same time, a familiar acquaintance with the *Moors*, from the intimate connection between them; and as the *Moors* is the vulgar tongue of all the *Mahummudan* natives, and is as well known to the generality of the *Aborigines* or *Hindoos*, as to the *Mahummudans* themselves; for these reasons it is evident, that the *Persian* is most worthy the attention of Europeans.

‡ The *Surcors* are all *Hindoos*; and by some little knowledge of the *English*, which they are careful to acquire, are enabled to act as Interpreters to the gentlemen who employ them.

and

and the grievances complained of generally originate from their knavery, avarice, and extortion.

“ TRUE it is, that in *Bengal*, the Dialect bearing that name is now most frequently used in the transacting of mercantile concerns; but it does not follow, that the Persian language, and that of Hindostan (vulgarly called the *Moors*) are therefore entirely superfluous: on the contrary, I conceive it to be easy to prove, that if the Company's civil servants were generally acquainted with the Persian, they would find themselves enabled to fill every department in which they could possibly be placed, without the assistance of any medium whatever.

“ IN a *private commercial light* also, I think, much may be said in its favour. Individuals, such as could find leisure to study the language, would reap a singular advantage from the knowledge of it. In the western provinces of Hindostan, though not so universally in Bengal, the Persian is used in all mercantile transactions: and if the study of it was generally followed, and applied to practice, hundreds of *Surcors* and *Banians*, who now eat up two thirds of the merchants profits, oppress the country under the name of English *Gomastahs*, and brand the character of their masters with infamy, might be discarded and turned adrift; or at least meet with such checks, as would, in a great measure, put a stop to their rogueries.

“ IT may be further observed, that the study of the Persian is by no means unworthy the attention of the *Military*, for this plain reason; because it is the best, and indeed the only road to a perfect acquaintance with the language of Hindostan; without which, no officer, however great his military abilities, can be esteemed properly qualified to command a battalion of our native troops. The loss of more than one detachment from that very deficiency, has proved this beyond dispute. It may be added, that an officer on a detached command, must always have

have occasion to correspond, sometimes to negotiate with the chief men of the districts and provinces, where he may be, or through which he may have occasion to pass : and these negotiations, however trifling they may at first appear, have been frequently known to lead to matters of vast importance. This is another, and, I think, no bad reason, why an officer ought to be acquainted with the Persian and Hindostan languages.

“ IN opposition to the foregoing it may be asserted, that the difficulties attending the study and acquisition of a copious and elegant language, differing totally from our own in phrase and idiom, and cloathed in unknown, complex, and obscure characters, would be insurmountable to many ; and that the various occupations and businesses, in which the Company’s servants in India are employed, cannot afford them leisure and opportunity to engage in so troublesome and arduous an undertaking ; and therefore, as heretofore, the acquisition of this valuable knowledge must be left to those young men, who, from curiosity, ambition, or superior abilities, are inclined to devote themselves to such difficult studies. In reply to the *first* of the above objections, I can, from personal knowledge, venture to affirm, That a very moderate share of abilities and of memory, supported by a common proportion of perseverance and attention, are sufficient to overcome the ideal difficulties, arising from the copiousness of the language itself, from the difference of the idiom, and from the obscurity of the character.

“ IN answer to the *second*, I will allow that the occupations and employments of the Company’s junior servants are many and various ; and that if pleasure and dissipation be admitted of the number, they have not a moment to spare. But supposing it practicable for them to curtail their attendance on the last mentioned important businesses but for two short hours in the day, I do assert, that they may with ease make themselves  
masters

masters of the language, and that in a very moderate space of time.

“THE advantages arising from a knowledge of the Persian to gentlemen in India have not, till within these few years, been perfectly understood. In fact, its *general* utility has not existed but from that period, when the Company found it necessary to place the entire administration of the provinces of *Bengal* and *Babar* in the hands of their own proper servants. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that a circumstance which did not immediately strike many of the ablest of their superior officers abroad, could not suddenly engage the attention of their administration at home. And hence we must account for the little encouragement hitherto given to the study of the Persian language.

"BUT I conceive it is now evident, that the Court of Directors, from the information which they have from time to time received, are fully convinced of its great utility; and that they are determined to promote the cultivation of it to the utmost of their power. For to this intention we must ascribe the very necessary encouragement which they have given to the learned Author of the Persian and Arabic Dictionary; the first volume of which has been already published. Of this valuable work, as appears by the printed proposals, they have engaged to take one hundred and fifty copies: which, it is reasonable to suppose, they intend to distribute among their servants abroad, and thereby to facilitate the study of the language, now rendered infinitely more easy than it was formerly, by the labours of the foregoing and another learned Author; whose Grammar, added to this Dictionary, has entirely removed every possible impediment. Indeed, all that appears wanting at present to promote a general application to the Persian in India, is a proper encouragement on the part of the East India Company, supported by their orders and authority; and a consequent conviction in  
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their junior servants, that a knowledge of that language is necessary to their promotion. If they were taught to know, that an acquaintance with the Persian was the principal avenue, through which they were to expect to arrive at superior rank, and that that knowledge for the future would be so far substituted in the place of seniority, as to render seniority of no avail without it, it would then become the principal object of the junior classes of their servants; and the language of course would be generally studied.

“ It may be added, that the above scheme, though a partial, would be no bad scale, by which to measure the abilities of their younger servants: for though a knowledge of that language in the persons who possessed it, could not point out the extent of their abilities; yet the want of that knowledge in those who could not acquire it, would certainly discover those who had no abilities at all. For a man who, so circumstanced, wanted talents, memory, or perseverance to form a moderate acquaintance with any language whatever; although he might make a tolerable smith, or carpenter, or bricklayer, would certainly turn out a very bad merchant, a very indifferent inspector of a province, or military officer.

“ In my ideas of the utility and importance of a knowledge of the Persian in the servants of the Company, I am supported by the opinions of several of the first Characters who have appeared in India; amongst whom, Mr. HASTINGS, now President of the supreme Council in *Bengal*, and the late Governor VANSITTART, are particularly distinguished. Those gentlemen did not think the Persian unworthy their attention; they found leisure to acquire a knowledge of that, and, consequently, of the language of Hindostan; in which they doubtless found their advantage. And I have been credibly informed, that both Mr. VANSITTART and Mr. HASTINGS had in contemplation the establishment of an Academy in England, in order

order to promote the study of the Persian language ; and to enable such young men, as were intended for the India service, to acquire the rudiments of that useful knowledge at home. The return of these gentlemen to India rendered their intentions abortive : but those intentions, nevertheless, tend to prove the high idea they entertained of its importance and utility.

“ In a word, the necessity of a knowledge of the Persian, to gentlemen residing in India, may, I think, be placed in a very clear point of view, by the following concise and simple Query, or Comparison. If an inhabitant of France, a Spaniard, a Swede, or a Dane, were to visit England with a view of improving his fortunes, would it not be necessary for him to learn the language of this country, in order to render himself capable of filling any employment whatever, either Civil or Military ?

“ THE general study of the Persian language would be productive of one other advantage to the East India Company, well worthy their attention. From the smallness of the number of those who have acquired a practical knowledge of the Persian language, and the still smaller number who have returned to England possessed of that knowledge, I have been led to believe, that a Department, which I should consider of much importance to the Company, has not hitherto been established. If the study of the Persian should meet with the encouragement it merits, and, in consequence thereof, the application to that study should become general, many gentlemen might return from India well qualified for the purpose, and with such moderate fortunes, as might not place them above the acceptance of the office I am about to point out. It is well known, that the Court of Directors annually receive from their settlements in India, Letters, Memorials, Treaties, and other important papers, in the Persian language, transmitted to them as vouchers by their officers abroad. It is true, that translations of such Papers are usually sent with the originals. But it must be well known to gentlemen conversant in India affairs, that



from *many circumstances*, accurate translations of such Letters, Memorials, and Treaties, by a gentleman unbiassed by party, faction, or interest, and under their own immediate protection, must be highly acceptable and advantageous to the India Government at home. Such a person would also be able to translate into the Persian language all such Treaties and Letters, as they might have occasion to send or write to the native Powers of Hindostan ; which might be transmitted to India under their proper Seal, and consequently not be liable to an erroneous translation abroad.

“ I HAVE been informed from good authority, that several gentlemen in the Direction, a very few years ago, were sufficiently convinced of the utility of such an establishment. The arrangement and expences of a regular Persian Secretary's Office at the India House, by some who are advocates for æconomy, might be esteemed an objection : but this, I conceive, may be easily obviated. For such a person as I have pointed out, might be induced, for a moderate salary to undertake the Office : he might reside in, or at any distance from the Capital ; the necessary papers might be transmitted to him by their proper Secretary for the time being, and might be returned by him to the same Secretary, with their translations.

“ THE foregoing Observations contain all that occurs to me on the subject, and I sincerely wish, that they may afford you some little assistance, in proving the high importance of Persian literature ; and that you will be enabled to point out the propriety of promoting in this country the study of a language, so necessary to the servants of the Company, so advantageous to the Company themselves ; and, from the extent and wealth of their Territories and Commerce, not an unimportant object to the British Nation.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM DAVY.”

F I N I S.







